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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,

VOLUME LI.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

M.DCCC.LXXXVIII.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*I. A Kalendar or Directory of Lincoln Use; and*
II. Kalendarium e Consuetudinario Monasterii de Burgo Sancti Petri.
By the Reverend Christopher Wordsworth, *M.A.*

Read February 17, 1887.

I.—A Kalendar or Directory of Lincoln Use.

When I was essaying to collect the scattered relics of the ancient Use of Lincoln in the form of a short paper which appeared in No. 1 of the *Lincoln Diocesan Gazette* in May 1886, I felt it to be a special matter of regret that I was unable to point to any surviving kalendar belonging to that see. The only thing approaching a Lincoln kalendar which I had seen was a Book of Hours which Mr. Bradshaw once put into my hands, pointing out that it had been in use in the diocese of Lincoln. It was not his own property, and unfortunately I returned it to him without taking note of the name of the present owner, but I have noted its peculiarities (as "Linc.") where they occur in the *Index Festivitatum* appended to the *Sanctorale* of the Sarum Breviary.[a]

A few months later I was permitted to take up the work of making an inventory of the muniments of the cathedral chapter at Lincoln, at the point where Mr. Bradshaw laid down his transcript of the late Rev. J. F. Wickenden's labours.

In a mysterious gable at the top of one of the presses I discovered a case docketed by Mr. Wickenden "about the feedings, explanatory of *Re et Ve.* Quære, *repensatio et vendicatio.*"

I found that the contents were documents of the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

[a] Cambridge Press edition, 1886, pp. xxix.—xxxvii.

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The term "*re et ve*" occurs frequently in Lincoln documents, and we were for some time puzzled by it. One suggestion was that it related to the revestry and the vestry. Then I found that it had to do with residence, and I hazarded a conjecture that *rotuli* (and *clericus*) *de Re et Ve* implied *redeundi et veniendi*. That was nearer the mark, but Mr. Bradshaw, the late librarian at Cambridge, was (I believe) the first to discover direct evidence that the full term was *recedendi et veniendi*, and that one of the cathedral clerks had to keep rolls or lists (of which I have lately seen several, one as early as 1278) recording the dates on what, at Trinity College, Cambridge, would be called the *exeat* papers and *redit* books of each person going out of residence. Only for the weeks during which they were in residence could the ministers of the church of Lincoln claim their allowances.

A "resident" might be absent one full day in a week, with portions of the day before and the day after, without "losing his residence." Once a fortnight he might be absent twice as long; he could go down (*recedere*) on the Friday, and be away on the Saturday and Sunday, and, provided that he "came up" (*revertatur*) on the Monday, he could do so without losing the "daily distributions." The weekly leave was termed *le seney* or *seyne;* the fortnightly two days' absence, *seney duplex*.

One of the privileges of residence consisted in the statutable custom of the prebendary or canon "in course" feeding at a mid-day meal on Sunday two and twenty "ministers of the church," the "sacrist literate" and his clerk, the succentor, clerk of *Re* and *Ve*, chapter clerk, etc., etc., the deacon and other ministers at his mass, the bell-ringers, etc. On the week-days he had ordinarily to feed the deacon and subdeacon. Similarly when his own prebendal week (*sua propria ebdomada*) came round, as distinct from the course which residents took for non-resident canons, he provided a refection only for the said twenty-four ministers, with the addition of two other bell-ringers on the Sunday; on the week-days he entertained the deacon and subdeacon and the vicar-ruler of the fortnight *in prandio*, and the said ringers *in jentaculo sive rejectione matutinali*.[a]

The absent canon sometimes gave a money-payment of about 6*d*. or 1*s*. to each minister according to his position, instead of the *pastus*. I think I have heard that some at least of the "ministers" of Lincoln cathedral-church receive half-yearly payments, under the name of "feedings"; the old term surviving, though the original custom has become obsolete; somewhat in the manner in which a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, has his "pension" for his livery (*pro liberatura*).

[a] *Novum Registrum*, p. 42.

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The dean and other dignitaries or personages, or senior canons in their absence, had according to their "turns" of celebrating to feed seven and twenty ministers, *in prandio*, on certain great days known as "Feeding Days," viz., the four days after Christmas Day (St. Stephen to Thomas à Becket) and the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in Easter week, and the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday after Pentecost. Bishop Alnwick in his *Novum Registrum* proposed to enjoin that, with the exception of the dean, the dignitaries should give a refection on the eight semi-doubles,[a] when they were to celebrate, viz.: Invention of the Cross, Translation of St. Andrew, St. Mary Magdalen, Exaltation of the Cross, Michaelmas Day, St. Katharine, St. Andrew, and St. Nicholas.

To the dean himself (if the bishop was absent) were assigned by the Black Book the following "Greater Doubles": Christmas Day, Epiphany, Purification, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Eve, Easter Day, Ascension, Whitsun Eve, Whitsun Day, Trinity, Nativity of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Feast of Relics (July 11th or 14th), the Annunciation, the Assumption and Nativity of Our Lady, All Saints, St. Hugh, Anniversaries of bishops, Dedication of the church (October 3), and of the king.

The Lincoln Custom-book of bishop Gravesend (*circa* 1260) provided that the invitations should be all given to the ministers of the altar in the time of mass, between the epistle and the gradual. It gives also directions as to the order of serving the wine and ale at the dinner after the day hours were finished. The guests (*commensales*) for the canon's table for ordinary doubles, semi-doubles, vigils, and *dies feriati* were invited during the singing of the *Te Deum*. Or else a canon might invite any member of the choir on All Hallows Eve to be his guest on all doubles (*duplifestarius*) for the next twelve-month.

I have mentioned already that the statutes and customs relating to these *honorifici pastus* have left their traces in modern times. It appears from the seventeenth century documents to which I have referred that the Reformation in the previous century did not abolish all traces of them, although the number of ministers of the altar was diminished.

I find in the case or portfolio at Lincoln:—

(1.) "An Account of Feedings, 1619."

(2.) "A note of double feasts for 3 quiristers for one year beginning the last day of September, A.D. 1623, unto the last day of September, 1624."[b]

[a] *Novum Registrum*, p. 43; they are called "doubles," however, on p. 26.

[b] There appear to be thirty-five doubles, including "Relike Sunday."

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(3.) "*Re et Ve*, 1641—1642."

(4.) "A Booke to direct the Roles of *Re* and *Ve*, made for the yeare 1635, which began the 20th day of September, Litera D. dñicalis, et Dñus Epũs Prebend' de Asgarbie his weeke to feede, and ends the 17th of September, A.D. 1636, Litera B. dominicalis."[a]

Later on in my search I came upon another store in the opposite gable.

(5.) "A booke to direct the Roles of *Re* and *Ve*"—a similar kalendar to No. 4, but for the year 15th September, 1639, to 19th September, 1640.

(6.) Numerous "Rolls of *Re et Ve*," of various dates from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. When found complete they contain five rolls attached at the top *Primus Rotulus*, *Secundus*, etc. Among the payments in 1617 I notice "*pro excludend.* Alleluya, vj^{d}.," referring, I suppose, to a payment made on the Saturday before Septuagesima to the minister whose lot it was to sing the last alleluia of the Epiphany season.

(7.) An obit list for *Re* and *Ve*, early sixteenth century.

The roll of the year 1617 might at first sight be taken for the result of some revival under bishop Neale. Laud himself was at that date a prebendary of Lincoln and archdeacon of Huntingdon. But it is strange to reflect that the personage indicated by the title "Dñus Epũs Prebend' de Asgarbie" in the Kalendar of September 1635 was the (then) archbishop's chief opponent, bishop Williams. He was in the Tower when the later kalendar, that of 1639-40 was written, but was released in November 1640.

I do not doubt that the lists of feasts had been preserved traditionally right through the Reformation-period for the very practical purpose of paying the statutable and customary stipends; and in confirmation of this idea I would point to the memoranda made by Parker before he was deprived of the deanery of Lincoln on queen Mary's accession. These may be seen in his own handwriting in Corpus Christi College Library at Cambridge, MS. 108. There is a note "*de pascendis ministris*" on page 260 in that volume among the papers which he had written at Lincoln, and had bound up with the original fifteenth century draft of bishop Alnwick's statutes which Parker never returned to the cathedral.

I am convinced that the kalendars or books to direct the Rolls of *Re* and *Ve*, which occur as Nos. (4) and (5) above, though written in 1635 and 1639

[a] This is a small quarto paper kalendar of eight leaves. On the outside is a memorandum about a "fine" in 1732

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respectively, are (practically) transcripts of a medieval or unreformed Lincoln kalendar, and that from an antiquarian point of view they are of the highest interest.

I have, therefore, transcribed the earlier of the two, making the following modifications :—

(1.) Whereas the original begins in September and ends in September, I have, for convenience, begun with January 1635-6 and ended with December 1635.

(2.) As A.D. 1635-6 was leap-year there is a deficiency of two days at the point of junction (September 18th and 19th). But a reference to the "Booke" or directory for 1639-40 shows that these days are unimportant, neither of them being distinguished as a saint's day.

(3.) I have added such expansions of abbreviations as seemed to me desirable, as well as some commemorations of saints extracted from the Lincoln Book of Hours, which, as I said at the outset, Mr. Bradshaw once put into my hands. Also a few facts taken from Lincoln Statutes as to the classification of feasts when it bears upon our kalendar, and some notes about the sequence of colours. All these additions are placed in square brackets, except those in colours which are in marks of parenthesis.

I do not look upon my collection of notes of the Lincoln usage of colours as likely to be accepted as final. It merely represents the result of the work of others (Dr. Henderson, Dr. Wickham Legg, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, etc.) so far as such results are known to me, with a very little observation on my own part.

(4.) The column showing the Roman arrangement of kalends, nones, and ides does not exist in the original, but it may be found convenient for comparison with medieval kalendars, some of which do not show the days of the month.

(5.) The footnotes also do not belong to the original "Booke" of 1635-6.

As to the contents of this Lincoln kalendar, it will be found that there are noticed many minor saints' days in addition to the twenty-eight which are distinguished as *duplicia*.

The twenty-eight Doubles, according to our "Booke" or directory, are—

The Circumcision.	Easter Day.	Whitsun Monday.
The Epiphany.	St. Mark.	Whitsun Tuesday.
The Purification.	Ascension Day.	Whitsun Wednesday.
The Annunciation.	Whitsun Day.	Trinity Sunday.

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St. John Baptist.	The Exaltation of the Cross.	Christmas Day.
St. Peter and St. Paul.	Michaelmas.	St. Stephen.
Relic Sunday.	All Saints.	St. John.
St. Mary Magdalen.	St. Hugh.	Childermas.
The Assumption.	St. Nicholas.	St. Thomas Abp.
The Nativity of B. V. Mary.		

Three feasts (St. Andrew's Day, the Translation of St. Andrew, and St. Katherine's Day), which are not noted as "doubles" in the seventeenth century directory, are among the Lincoln semi-doubles of the fifteenth century, about which the *Novum Registrum* leaves us in doubt whether they were *duplicia* or *semi-duplicia*.

If proof is wanted that the "Booke" is not, strictly speaking, an original product of the seventeenth century, I would point to the following observations:

There are several peculiar saints (below the rank of double-feasts) which would hardly have been found in the then extant printed books of Sarum, York, Hereford, or Rome.

The name of St. Thomas of Canterbury (which was generally, but not universally, expunged in books existing in the last years of Henry VIII., and omitted in subsequent publications) occurs here, as though it had been copied from an old unexpurgated document. And the omissions are even more suggestive. In our reformed Prayer-Book kalendars we find in the month of August the Transfiguration of our Lord and Name of Jesus. I can hardly imagine that these would have been omitted in a document which contains so many minor festivals as the one before us if it had *originated* in the seventeenth century.

But, when we bear in mind that these two popular festivals were still accounted *nova festa, circa* 1450-98, it seems fairly certain that our document was compiled or copied from a MS. or early-printed original dating not later than 1500.

To my mind the most interesting traditional survival in the Lincoln "Booke" or Directory is that of the two weekly commemorations.

The cathedral-church of Lincoln is a Mary-church. If, therefore, it ever had a "rule called the Pie" of its own use, such a rule would be a Pie of two commemorations only.

A year or two ago Mr. Bradshaw pointed out to me that it is evident from the Articles of Visitation of Eton College in 1527, that in the days of bishop Longland (and presumably for a good while previous) there was in the diocese of Lincoln a weekly commemoration of St. Hugh.

In the "Booke" of 1635–6, two weekly commemorations do constantly occur;

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(1) "*beatæ Mariæ,*" as in other Uses; (2) "*Sancti Hugonis,*" in other words the *Commemoratio festi Sancti Loci,* answering to the local commemoration of St. Thomas (as I think) at Salisbury, SS. Peter and Paul at Exeter, St. Andrew at Wells, St. Chad at Lichfield, and St. Etheldreda at Ely, etc. etc.[a]

In this "Booke" we have thirty-two simple commemorations of each of the two patrons of Lincoln cathedral-church. Friday seems to be fixed as the regular day for St. Mary's commemoration; but six times in July and August it is put down for Saturday (her day in other Uses). It is transferred on twelve occasions from Friday to some other day in the week, to make way for a festival occupying the Friday. Similarly the commemoration of St. Hugh is treated. It occurs, as a general rule, on Thursday, but is occasionally placed on a Tuesday or Wednesday for some reason which I have not discovered, beside the transferences which known rules would require. There is in the case of each commemoration one (and one only) infringement of a rule which prevailed at least in Sarum, namely, that the commemoration should be on a week-day and not a Sunday. In like manner Advent to the Octave of Epiphany, and Lent to Low Sunday, are kept free from commemorations, with just such an exception as might occur from the error of a scribe not practically familiar with medieval rules, and using as his guide a kalendar which applied to some other year. As a matter of fact we find that the seventeenth century writer was capable of putting Good Friday and Maundy Thursday into Easter week, a blunder which may perhaps be rightly attributed to the same miscalculation which admitted one commemoration of St. Hugh within the limits of Quadragesima.

II.—Kalendarium e Consuetudinario Monasterii de Burgo Sancti Petri.

As the monastery of Peterborough was situated within the limits of the old diocese of Lincoln, I have thought it non unfitting to append to the Directory or Kalendar of the great secular cathedral-church of Lincoln, in which I have an honourable but undeserved position and portion, a kalendar of the ancient Benedictine foundation of Peterborough, which has now become the see of that diocese, which was taken out of the old diocese of Lincoln, and includes not only my own benefice but the titular prebend of my disendowed stall at Lincoln.

It is well known that a MS. *Consuetudinarium* or Custom-Book of the abbey

[a] I have written on the subject of "pyes of two and three comemoracions" in the *Introduction to the Sarum Breviary*, fasc. iii. pp. lxx.—lxxvi.

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of Peterborough is now preserved in two volumes in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth (MS. 198, 198 *b*).

I do not expect to live to see that great book in a printed form; but I have thought that the kalendar, which is written in a larger hand, and exists in duplicate, might well be studied separately. By the liberality of the Archbishop of Canterbury I have been enabled to make a copy.

Extracts from the Peterborough kalendar have appeared already,[a] but they supply by no means the only interesting information which may be gleaned from it. For instance, those extracts do not convey the information for which the authorities of the diocese and cathedral were seeking a few years ago, the anniversary-day of the dedication of the church.

I append a short description of the manuscript:

The Lambeth MS. 198, 198*b* is the Monastic *Consuetudinarium* of Peterborough in two volumes, to each of which is prefixed a kalendar of the same monastic use.

The two kalendars appear to me to be written by the same hand, though the one is not an exact reproduction of the other. For example, memorial lines which appear at the top of the page in vol. i. will be written at the foot in vol. ii. and the local anniversaries are not inserted in quite the same style in the two, though they seem to belong to the original design of the kalendar.

I suppose that the scribe first made one complete kalendar of holy days, etc. and then added the anniversaries and obits from the local book of obits. Afterwards he may have made a fairer copy for the other volume, introducing what he considered to be improvements in arrangement of his page as he went on with his transcription.

From internal evidence I should date the kalendar between 1361 and 1390, and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has independently ascribed the handwriting to the latter part of the fourteenth century.

Bishop Patrick dated the body of the Consuetudinarium itself about the years 1440-50. The ordinances at the end belong to the period 1381 to 1471. The original document may therefore be supposed to belong to some time between 1360–80, or to have been copied from something of that time.

LAMBETH MS. 198, vol. i. of the Peterborough Consuetudinarium.
Kalendar and Rule for Septuagesima, 7 folios.

[a] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i. 362, 363.

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Temporale (i).

Ebdomada prima Adventus Domini.

Hic ascribenda Symoni sunt scripta legenda.
Ex Yarwel natus fuerat monachus memoratus
De solitis rebus speculum nitet quasi Phoebus
In quo consuetas elucidat ipse dietas.

Sabbato primo Adventus Domini to Easter week, 146 folios.

"Hic finiunt consuetudines servicii diurni a dominica prima adventus domini usque ad pascha. s. de temporali."

Sanctorale (i).

3 leaves blank. On 4th leaf a note "De Sancto Saturnino." 5th leaf: "Hic incipit rubrica de festis sanctorum ab Adventu usque pascha, contingencium cum quibusdam notalibus velut infra patebit." (32 leaves).

"Hic finit prima pars consuetudinarii de festis sanctorum qui eveniri possint ab adventu domini usque ad pascha."

LAMBETH MS.—198[b], vol. ii. of the Peterborough Consuetudinarium.

Fo. 1-4 blank. 5[b] (a word erased) "It[em] subscripta sunt Ordinaciones quaedam factae circa servicium divinum per dompnum Ricardum Asshton quondam" [*i.e.* A.D. 1439—71] "abbatem hujus venerabilis monasterii de burgo sancti petri cum consensu tocius Conventus. In primis quod quodlibet duplex festum habebit ad primas vesperas psalmos de ipso festo." This occupies the quantity of 2 leaves, viz. 5[b]—7[a]; 7[b]—9 blank.

Kalendar, 6 leaves + Rule for Easter. The rest of the kalendar is almost identical in contents with that which is prefixed to vol. i., 1 leaf blank.

Temporale (ii) combined with Sanctorale (ii).

"Incipit tercia pars consuetudinarii de historiis dominicalibus inter oct. Pentecost. et dominicam primam Adventus Domini et de Jejunio pro micis. In antiquis consuetudinariis fit mencio quod in feria sexta primo vacante post oct. Sanctae Trinitatis Conventus jejunabit propter micas, et observabitur illud jejunium plenarie sicut alia jejunia." 260 leaves arranged for the 35 "*declaraciones historiarum dominicalium*" of the perpetual almanac.

. Hiis declaratis > sit scriptor eumque beatis
. Ut ipsum gratis > sinus capiat pietatis. <AMEN>
Dictus erat rite X Jon Trencham, quem Deus orbis X)
A tetris morbis X salvet, det gaudia vite.

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Then follow (fo. 261—263[a]) rules and regulations about letting blood, "*Statutum de minucione capienda*,"—a fruitful matter for the monastic legislator.

Fo. 263[b]. Ordinances of Henry de Overton ("anno xxi[o]," *i.e.* 1381—2). Others of the years 1396; [Adam de Boothby (?)] 1336; [W. Genge] 1398—1401; J. Depyng, 1410, 1420, and 1409; R. Ashton [1439—1471].[a]

With regard to the contents of the kalendar:—

The memorial lines noting the lucky or unlucky days for blood-letting etc. in each month are identical with those which are printed in the Sarum Breviary kalendar of 1531, with the one exception of that for the month of October.

The record of the number of days contained in each kalendar month and lunar month, which is placed at the bottom of each page in the second volume of the MS., as in this present paper, is in vol. i. written at the top.

The length of the days and nights is given at the foot in both copies.

The letters *a*, *c*, *d*, *t*, and *prin.* refer (obviously) to some classification of feasts or holydays.

prin. stands, I believe, for "festum *principale* duplex."

c for *capae*, or *in capis*, indicating that on such a day the service was to be sung in copes.[b]

a for *albae*, or *in albis*, indicating that the service was to be said or sung in albs.

d for *duodecim lectiones*, or *lectionum*, the number usual for the sets of proper lessons in the monastic breviary where nine are prescribed in the secular office.

t for *tres* or *trium lectionum*.

The Principal Feasts of Peterborough Use are accordingly:—

St. Peter and St. Paul.
St. Oswald.
The Assumption of B. V. Mary.
The Dedication of the church of Burgh.
All Saints.
Christmas Day.

[a] Genge, Depyng, and Ashton were the first, second and third *mitred* abbats of Peterborough. Ramsey succeeded Ashton in 1471: then Robert Kirton, 1496. John Chambers, the abbat at the Dissolution (having succeeded Kirton in 1528), was consecrated first bishop of Peterborough in 1541.

[b] Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has determined the interpretation of these letters by reference to the beautiful Peterborough Kalendar in the Psalter which bears the name of Robert of Lindesey (abbat 1214—1222), and which is the property of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House.

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Also, perhaps, the moveable feasts, Easter Day, Pentecost, and Ascension Day, although Epiphany is simply ranked as a feast in copes in this MS., as also is the "Resurrectio Christi" in Robert of Lindesey's Psalter.

The Feasts in Copes are:—

The Circumcision.
The Epiphany.
The Purification of St. Mary the Virgin.
St. Peter's Chair.
SS. Kyneburga, etc.
The Annunciation.
[Resurrectio Christi].
The Invention of the Cross.
St. Dunstan.
St. Augustine.
Nativity of St. John Baptist.
Octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, with St. Sexburga.
Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
Translation of St. Benet.
St. Peter's Chains.
St. Athelwold.
Octave of St. Oswald.
Octave of the Assumption.
The Nativity of Saint Mary.
The Exaltation of the Cross.
Octave of the Nativity of St. Mary.
SS. Florentin, etc. Martyrs.
Michaelmas Day.
Octave of the Dedication of the Church.
Feast of Relics.
Martinmas.
St. Hugh.
St. Edmund K. M.
St. Andrew.
The Conception of St. Mary.
St. Stephen.
St. John.
Childermas.
St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The Feasts in Albs are:—

St. Anthony.
St. Vincent.
Conversion of St. Paul.
St. Matthias.
Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors.
Depositio of John de Caleto.
St. Gregory.
St. Benet.
St. George.
SS. Philip and James.
St. Mary Magdalen.
St. James.
SS. German and Neot.
Depositio of Richard de London.
Depositio of Geoffrey de Croyland.
St. Lawrence.
St. Bartholomew.
Decollation of St. John Baptist.
Translation of St. Athelwold.
St. Matthew.

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Depositio of Benedict Abbat.	Depositio of Robert de Lyndesey.
St. Denys.	St. Katharine.
St. Luke.	St. Nicholas.
St. Simon and St. Jude.	St. Thomas Apostle.

Of Feasts of TWELVE LESSONS in the Peterborough kalendar I count some sixty-four, and of Feasts of THREE LESSONS, sixty.

Apart from the obits, which are entered at the right-hand side of each page of the kalendar, I notice a considerable number of names which are not commemorated in the Sarum books. I subjoin a list of such non-Sarum entries, with some attempt to indicate other English uses where they do occur.

Y. = the York Missal kalendar.
W. = a Winchester Missal Sanctorale.
H. = the Hereford Missal kalendar.
L. = Lincoln Book of Hours.
We. = the Wells Consuetudinary.
A. = a St. Alban's Breviary.

January.	Paul, hermit	Y.	—	—	—	—	—	
	Antony, abbat	Y.	—	H.	—	—	—	
	Emerentiana	Y.	—	—	—	—	—	
	Babilas, bishop	Y.	—	—	—	—	—	
February.	Apollonia	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Austreberta	Y.	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ermenildis	—	W.	—	—	—	—	
	Oswald, archbishop	—	—	H.	—	—	—	
March.	Kyneburg, Kyneswide, and Tibbe	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Patrick	—	—	—	—	—	—	
April.	Mary of Egypt (9 April)	—	—	—	L.	—	—	
	Leo	—	—	—	L	We.	—	
	Guthlac	—	—	H.	L.	—	—	
	Yvo	—	—	—	—	—	—	
May.	Athanasius	—	—	—	—	—	—	
June.	Botulph, abbat	Y.	—	H.	L.	—	—	
	Leufrid, abbat	Y.	W.	H.	—	—	A.	
July.	Sexburga	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Octave of St. Benedict	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Neot, abbat	—	—	—	—	—	—	

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August.	Athelwold, bishop . . .	—	W.	—	—	—	—
	Taurinus, bishop . . .	—	—	H.	—	—	—
	Octave of St. Oswald . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Aidan, bishop	Y.	—	—	—	—	—
September.	Ad[r]ian, M.	Y.	W.	—	—	—	A.
	Audomarus, bishop . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Translation of Athelwold .	—	W.	—	—	—	—
	Florentinus	—	—	—	—	—	—
October.	Translation of St. Hugh .	—	—	—	L.	—	—
	Paulinus, bishop . . .	Y.	—	H.	—	—	A.
	Wilfrid	Y.	—	H.	—	—	—
	Mello	—	—	—	—	—	—
	German, bishop	Y.	—	—	—	—	—
November.	Hilda	Y.	—	—	—	—	—
December.	Chrisanthus and Darias . .	Y.	W.	H.	—	—	—
	Birinus	—	W.	H.	L.	—	A.
	Damasus	—	W.	H.	L.	—	—
	Barbara	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals of the above list of non-Sarum feasts.		14 York.	8 Winton.	11 Hereford.	7 Lincoln.	1 Wells.	4 St. Albans.

This kalendar contains the Obit or "*Depositio*" of each abbat of Peterborough from the year 1055 to 1338, with one or two exceptions which may be easily accounted for, if the circumstances noted in the following list are considered. The *Depositio* of Henry de Morcot (1353) is not noted. He was buried between the choir and the high altar. The *Depositio* of his successor, Robert de Ramsey (6 Oct. 1361), is written in the original hand, and none have been inserted later (although certain saints' names are interlined), notwithstanding that the *Consuetudinarium* itself was carried on for a century after Robert de Ramsey's death.

The term "*Depositio*" is of doubtful meaning. According to Ducange it was used both for the day of death and for the day of burial—the putting off the burden of the flesh and the laying in the tomb. On the whole I think that the latter sense tallies best with the usage in this instance. But I must confess that I find it difficult in some cases to make either interpretation harmonise

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satisfactorily with the dates of death given in the list of Abbats in the *Monasticon*.[a]

I have not identified "Eudo" (*Monast.* has "Guido," ii. 362), who is mentioned under April 10 (*Monast.* gives April 12).

I append a summary of that list, with the addition of the dates from the kalendar before us.

I desire here to record my obligation to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who kindly completed the transcript of the kalendars at Lambeth which I had not time to finish.

The Abbats of Peterborough.

Saxulf, 654 (bishop of Mercia 675).
Cuthbald, 675. Died after 709.
Egbald, *circa* 716.
Pusa.
Beonna, *before* 775.
Ceolver, *before* 848.
Hedda.
(*The Monastery destroyed by the Danes*, 870).
Adulf, 972 (archbishop of York 992, and bishop of Worcester, where he died May 6, 1002).
Kenulf, 992 (bishop of Winton, 1006, where he was buried in 1008).
Elsin, 1006. *Depositio*, 13 Jan. 1055.
Arwin, or Ernwin, 1055 (resigned *circa* 1057). *Depositio*, May 28 or 30.
Leofric, 1063 (?). Died 30 Oct. *Depositio*, 1 Nov. 1066.
Brando, 1066. Died 27 Nov. *Depositio* 30 Nov. 1069.
Thorold of Fescamp, 1069. *Depositio* 10 April, 1098.
Godric (four days abbat) 1099.
Matthias (brother to Brando), 1103. *Depositio* 22 Oct. 1107.
Ernulf, 1107 (bishop of Rochester, consecrated Dec. 26, 1115. Died Mar. 15, 1123-4).
John of Seez, or Says, 1114. *Depositio* 10 Nov.; *Monast.* gives 14 Oct. 1125.
Henry of Anjou (de Angelis) 1128; banished.
Martin of Bec (de Vecti) 29 June, 1133. Died 2 Jan. *Depositio* 3 Jan. 1155.
William Waterville 1155 (deposed in 1175). *Depositio* 30 Nov.
Benedict, 1177. *Depositio* Sept. 25 *Monast.* gives Sept. 29, 1193.
Andreas, 1193 or 1194. *Depositio* 21 Feb. 1199.

[a] i. 344-363.

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Acharius, or Zacharias, 1199 or 1200. *Depositio* 12 Mar. *Monast.* gives 14 Mar. 1210.

Robert de Lindsey, 1214. Died Oct. 25. *Depositio* Oct. 28, 1222.

Alexander de Holdernesse, election confirmed Nov. 30, 1222. *Depositio* Nov. 17. *Monast.* says Nov. 20, 1226.

Martin de Ramsey, election confirmed 29 Nov. 1226. Died 23 June, 1233. *Depositio* 26 June.

Walter of Bury, election confirmed July 8, 1233. Died 22 or 23 Dec. *Depositio* 26 Dec. 1245.

William of Hotoft, or Hotot, elected Feb. 6, 1246. Resigned 6 Dec. 1249. *Depositio* 3 Jan.

John of Calais, or Cauz (de Calceto), election confirmed Jan. 15, 1249—50. *Depositio* 1 March, 1269. *Monast.* gives March 3.

Robert Sutton, 1268, election confirmed 27 March, 1262. He died on his way from the Council of Lyons in 1274. *Depositio* 21 March.

Richard de London, 9 April, 1274. *Depositio* 1 Aug. *Monast.* gives 16 Aug. 1295.

William de Woodford, 29 Aug. 1295. *Depositio* Sept. 2, 1299.

Godfrey de Croyland, 1299. *Depositio* 9 Aug. *Monast.* says Sept. 1321.

Adam de Boothby. Temporalities restored 7 Oct. 1321. *Depositio* 23 Nov. *Monast.* says died Nov. 25, 1338.

Henry de Morcot, 1338. Installed 13 Feb. 1339. Died in 1353.

Robert de Ramsey, 1353. *Depositio* 6 Oct. 1361.

Henry de Overton, 1361. Died in 1391.

Nicholas Elnestow, 1391.

Mitred Abbats.

William Genge, 1397. Died in 1408.

John Deeping. Temporalities restored Jan. 29, 1409—10. Died 5 Dec. 1439.

Richard Ashton. Temporalities restored 14 Oct. 1439. Surrendered to the bishop of Lincoln June 27, 1471.

William Ramsey. Temporalities restored 12 Aug. 1471.

Robert Kirton, 1496.

John Chambers. Temporalities restored 4 April 1526, *al.* 1528. Last abbat and *first bishop* of Peterborough, consecrated Oct. 23, 1541. Died in 1556.

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APPENDIX I.

A KALENDAR OF LINCOLN USE.

JANUARY HATH 31 DAYES.

	1	a	Calendæ	Circumcisio Domini, *duplex*. (? Cloth of gold.)
	2	b	4 Non.	Oct. Sancti Stephani.
Can:[a]	3	*C*	3 Non.	Do: et Oct. sancti Johannis.
	4	d	Prid. Non.	Oct. Innocentium.
	5	e	Nonæ	Oct. sancti Thomæ Beckett.
	6	f	8 Id.	Epiphania Domini, *duplex* et infra. (Cloth of gold.)[b]
	7	g	7 Id.	infra.
	8	a	6 Id.	infra.
	9	b	5 Id.	infra.
Pre:	10	*C*	4 Id.	Do: et infra [Octavas Epiphaniæ].
	11	d	3 Id.	infra. [Feliciæ. V.][c]
	12	e	Prid. Id.	infra.
	13	f	Idus	Oct. Epiphaniæ.
	14	g	19 Cl. Feb.	sancti Hugonis.
	15	a	18 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	16	b	17 Cal.	.
Asgr:	17	*C*	16 Cal.	Do: et sancti Hugonis.
	18	d	15 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	19	e	14 Cal.	sancti Wolstani. (Green or black.)
	20	f	13 Cal.	sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani. (Red.)
	21	g	12 Cal.	sancte Agnetis virginis. (Red.)
	22	a	11 Cal.	sancti Vincentij. (Red.)
	23	b	10 Cal.	.
Arch:	24	*C*	9 Cal.	Do: [iii. post Epiph. A.D. 1635-6.]
	25	d	8 Cal.	Conversio Sancti Pauli.
	26	e	7 Cal.	.
	27	f	6 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	28	g	5 Cal.	[Octava S. Agnetis. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26, MS. corr. for "Augustini."]
	29	a	4 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	30	b	3 Cal.	.
Sub:	31	*C*	Prid. Cal.	Do: [iv. post Epiph. A.D. 1635-6.]

[a] "*Can:*," etc. The notes in the margin opposite the Sundays indicate the *majores Personas dignitates habentes* (viz. *Decanus*, *Precentor*, *Cancellarius*, *Subdecanus*, and *Archidiaconus*, with "Asgarbie," the prebend held at this period by the *Episcopus*), whose turn it was *pascere* (to provide the "feedings") *in cursu suo*. These notes are, like the Sunday letters, in pale ink, possibly once red. For the insertion of notes on colours and others enclosed in brackets (see above, p. 5) I am responsible.

[b] Dugdale, *A Lincoln Inventory*, mentions a costly cloth of gold for the high altar, for principal feasts, with a frontlet of the same. Dugdale, *Monast.* viii. p. 1285. As to Lincoln Principal Feasts see *Novum Registrum*, p. 26.

[c] "Feliciae V." This and similar insertions of saints' names are derived from a Lincoln book of Hours.

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FEBRUARY HATH 29 DAYES.[a]

	1	d	Calendæ	[Brigidæ. V. *Consuet.* 1260.] (White.)
	2	e	4 Non.	Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, *duplex.* [Benedictio Candelarum, *Nov. Reg.* p. 12.] (White, or cloth of gold).
	3	f	3 Non.	sancti Hugonis.
	4	g	Prid. Non.	[Gilberti de Sempringham.] (Green or black.)
	5	a	Nonæ	beatæ Mariæ.
	9	b	8 Id.	.
Can.:	**7**	*C*	7 Id.	Do: [v. post Epiph. A.D. 1635-6.]
	8	d	6 Id.	.
	9	e	5 Id.	.
	10	f	4 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	11	g	3 Id.	.
	12	a	Prid. Id.	beatæ Mariæ.
	13	b	Idus	.
Pre:	**14**	*C*	16 Cl. Mar.	Do: [in Septuagesima.]
	15	d	15 Cal.	.
	16	e	14 Cal.	.
	17	f	13 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	18	g	12 Cal.	[Symeonis hierosolymitani, Ep. M.] (Red.)
	19	a	11 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	20	b	10 Cal.	.
Asgr:	**21**	*C*	9 Cal.	Do: et beatæ Mariæ.
	22	d	8 Cal.	Cathedra Sancti Petri. (Red.)
	23	e	7 Cal.	[Milburgæ, V.] (White.)
	24	f	6 Cal.	sancti Matthiæ *(another hand).*[b]
	25	f[bis]	6 Cal.	"sancti Matthiæ Apli" *struck out.* (Red.)
	26	g	5 Cal.	.
	27	a	4 Cal.	.
Arch:	**28**	*B*	3 Cal.	Do: [in Quinquagesima.—Oswaldi regis].
	29	c	Prid. Cal.	.

[a] The year 1635-6 being leap year.

[b] According to De Morgan and other authorities, this would-be corrector was in the wrong. In leap-year St. Matthias' Day is *bis sextus* (the second or intercalated sixth day before the Kalends of April), commonly reckoned as the 25th of February in such a year, "*quarto die a Cathedra S. Petri,*" as the rule of the Sarum Kalendar expresses it.

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MARCH hath 31 Dayes.

		1	d	Calendæ	sancti Davidis. (Green or black) [de S. Albino memoria.]
		2	e	6 Non.	sancti Chadde. [in capite Jejunii benedictio cinerum, et pœnitentium ejectio, *Nov. Reg.* p. 12.]
		3	f	5 Non.	[Adriani, M.] (Red.)
		4	g	4 Non.	.
		5	a	3 Non.	[Phocæ, V. et Eusebii.]
Sub:		6	*B*	Prid. Non.	Do: [i. Quadragesimæ.] (White, etc.[a] were Lenten colours.)
		7	c	Nonæ.	.
		8	d	8 Id.	.
		9	e	7 Id.	[Feria iv. Quatuor Temporum.] (White or red plain.)[b]
		10	f	6 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
		11	g	5 Id.	[Feria vi. Quatuor Temporum.] (White or red plain.)
		12	a	4 Id.	sancti Gregorii [Sabbato Quatuor Temporum].
Can:		13	*B*	3 Id.	Do: [ii. Quadragesimæ].
		14	c	Prid. Id.	.
		15	d	Idus	.
		16	e	17 Cl. Apr.	.
		17	f	16 Cal.	.
		18	g	15 Cal.	sancti Edwardi. (Red.)
		19	a	14 Cal.	.
Pre:		20	*B*	13 Cal.	Do: et sancti Cuthberti. (Green or black).
	14	21	c	12 Cal.	sancti Benedicti. (Green or Black.)
	3	22	d	11 Cal.	.
		23	e	10 Cal.	.
	11	24	f	9 Cal.	.
		25	g	8 Cal.	Annunciacionis beatæ Mariæ, *duplex.* (White.)
	19	26	a	7 Cal.	.
Asgr:	8	27	*B*	6 Cal.	Do: [iv. Quadragesimæ.]
		28	c	5 Cal.	.
	16	29	d	4 Cal.	.
	5	30	e	3 Cal.	.
		31	f	Prid. Cal.	.

[a] *White* was a Lenten colour at Lincoln. See Legg's *Notes on the History of the Liturgical Colours*, p. 49. The Inventory in Dugdale, *Monast.* viii. p. 1285, mentions also a *Yellow* vestment with an orphrey, small, with a crucifix of gold in red upon the back for Lent. Also a double cloth, *White and Red*, with a plain altar cloth for the high altar in Lent, with a frontlet of the same, p. 1286. On week days in Lent, Saturdays excepted, vespers were said at 6 o'clock, and a "collatio" followed.

[b] The Lincoln colour for "ferial days" (*e.g.* Ember Days and Vigils, when prayers were said *flexis genibus*), was *plain red* (Dugdale, *Monast.* viii. p. 1282), or *white* (Peacock's *Engl. Ch. Furniture*, p. 182; J. W. Legg's *Notes on the Hist. of Liturgical Colours*, p. 49.)

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APRILL HATH 30 DAYES.

	13	1	g	Calendæ	[Mariæ Ægyptiacæ. Sed in crastino secundum quosdam.]
	2	2	a	4 Non.	
Arch:		3	*B*	3 Non.	Do: [in Passione Domini.]
	10	4	c	Prid. Non.	sancti Ambrosij. (Green or black.)
		5	d	Nonæ	.
	18	6	e	8 Id.	.
	7	7	f	7 Id.	.
		8	g	6 Id.	.
	15	9	a	5 Id.	.
Sub:	4	10	*B*	4 Id.	Do: [in Ramis. Benedictio palmarum per Decanum, "*Ave Rex*" ante crucem. *Nov. Reg.* p. 12.] .
		11	c	3 Id.	sancti Guthlaci [*non Sarum, sed Herford.*—Leonis magni, Papæ Conf.]
	12	12	d	Prid. Id.	.
	1	13	e	Idus	.
		14	f	18 Cl. Mai.	[Feria v. in Die Cenæ. Receptio pœnitentium per Decanum, et post prandium lavipedium pauperum. *Nov. Reg.* p. 12.]
	9	15	g	17 Cal.	Feria vi. in Parasceve.] (Red vestments, lined with white.)
		16	a	16 Cal.	[Sabbato Sancto in Vigilia Paschæ.] (Cloth of gold at mass.)
Decan:	17	17	*B*	15 Cal.	Do: et festum Pasche, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	6	18	c	14 Cal.	infra. [Invitatorium dicitur a iij Vicarijs.] (Cloth of gold.)
		19	d	13 Cal.	sancti Alphegi, et infra. (Red.) [Invitatorium a tribus.] (Cloth of gold.)
		20	e	12 Cal.	infra. (Cloth of gold.)
		21	f	11 Cal.	festum cænæ dñi, et infra[a]
		22	g	10 Cal.	pascuæ dñi et infra.
		23	a	9 Cal.	sancti Georgij, et de sancto Sabbato, et infra.
Can:		24	*B*	8 Cal.	Do: [in Albis.]
		25	c	7 Cal.	sancti Marci Evang. *duplex.* (Red.)
		26	d	6 Cal.	.
		27	e	5 Cal.	.
		28	f	4 Cal.	.
		29	g	3 Cal.	[Petri Mediolanensis.]
		30	a	Prid. Cal.	.

[a] There is a curious confusion in these weeks. Maundy Thursday (strangely called "*festum* cænæ Domini"), Good Friday ("pascuæ," for *Parascevæ*), and Easter Eve or Holy Saturday, are treated as if they fell in the festal Easter-tide. The maker of the kalendar has evidently placed the days of Holy Week seven places too low on his page.

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MAY HATH 31 DAYES.

Pre:	**1**	*B*	Calendæ	Do: sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Ap'lorũ. (Red.)
	2	c	6 Non.	.
	3	d	5 Non.	inventio sancte[a] Crucis. [*Semiduplex?*]
	4	e	4 Non.	sancti Hugonis.
	5	f	3 Non.	beatæ Mariæ.
	6	g	Prid. Non.	sancti Johannis Evang. [ante Portam latinam.]
	7	a	Nonæ	sancti Johannis Beverlaci. (Green or black.)
Asgr:	**8**	*B*	8 Id.	Do: [iii. post Pascha.—Victoris mediolanensis, M.]
	9	c	7 Id.	translatio sancti Andreæ [*semiduplex.—Non Sarum, sed Wellen.*] (Red.)
	10	d	6 Id.	[Fremundi, R. M.] (Red.)
	11	e	5 Id.	.
	12	f	4 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	13	g	3 Id.	.
	14	a	Prid. Id.	beatæ Mariæ.
Arch:	**15**	*B*	Idus.	Do: [iv. post Pascha.]
	16	c	17 Cl. Jun.	.
	17	d	16 Cal.	.
	18	e	15 Cal.	sancti Dunstani.[b] (Green or black.)
	19	f	14 Cal.	sancti Hugonis. ("et sancti Dunstani" *struck out.*)
	20	g	13 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	21	a	12 Cal.	.
Sub:	**22**	*B*	11 Cal.	Do: [Rogationum.]
	23	c	10 Cal.	.
	24	d	9 Cal.	[SS. Francisci et Dominici Translatio.] (Green or black.)
	25	e	8 Cal.	["Vigilia Ascensionis," *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (? White.) (Cloth of gold at vespers.)
	26	f	7 Cal.	sancti Augustini, et Ascentionis Domini, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	27	g	6 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	28	a	5 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
Can:	**29**	*B*	4 Cal.	Do: [infra Octavam Ascensionis.]
	30	c	3 Cal.	.
	31	d	Prid. Cal.	sancti Hugonis.

[a] "*Sancti Crucis,*" MS. The Invention of the Cross is called "*duplex*" in *Nov. Reg.* p. 26, but "*semiduplex*" p. 43.

[b] St. Dunstan is commemorated on the 19th in Sarum and the other kalendars. The corrector here is probably in the wrong, as in the month of February.

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JUNE HATH 30 DAYES.

	1	e	Calendæ	.
	2	f	4 Non.	Oct. assentoñis Dñi. (Cloth of gold.)
	3	g	3 Non.	[Oriche, V.] (White.)
	4	a	Prid. Non.	[" Vigilia Pentecostes." *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (White or red plain. Cloth of gold at mass and vespers.)
Decan:	**5**	*B*	Nonæ.	Do. et festum pentecostes, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	6	c	8 Id.	*Duplex* et infra. [Invitatorium dicitur a iij Vicarijs. Cloth of gold.]
	7	d	7 Id.	*Duplex* et infra. [Invitatorium dicitur a iij Vicarijs. Cloth of gold.]
	8	e	6 Id.	*Duplex* et infra. [Willielmi, archiep. Feria iv. Quatuor Temporum.] (Cloth of gold. ? White.)
	9	f	5 Id.	infra.
	10	g	4 Id.	sancti Hugonis, et infra. [Feria iv. Quatuor Temporum.] (? White.)
	11	a	3 Id.	sancti Barnebæ [" beatæ Mariæ " *interlin.*] et infra. [" Vigilia S. Trinitatis." *Nov. Reg.* p. 26. Cloth of gold.]
Pre:	**12**	*B*	Prid. Id.	Do. et festum Trinitatis, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	13	c	Idus	[Antonij Pedav. O. F. Minorum.] (Green or black.)
	14	d	18 Cl. Julii	.
	15	e	17 Cal.	.
	16	f	16 Cal.	Corporis Christi.
	17	g	15 Cal.	[S. Botulphi, conf.] (Green or black.)
	18	a	14 Cal.	.
Asgr:	**19**	*B*	13 Cal.	Do. et oct. trinitatis.
	20	c	12 Cal.	translatio sancti Edwardi. (Red.)
	21	d	11 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	22	e	10 Cal.	sancti Albani. (Red.)
	23	f	9 Cal.	[? Vigilia. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (? White.)
	24	g	8 Cal.	sancti Johannis Baptistæ, *duplex.* (White, or cloth of gold. Red, *Sarum.*)
	25	a	7 Cal.	infra.
Arch:	**26**	*B*	6 Cal.	Do. [ii. post Trin. et festum SS. Johannis et Pauli MM. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (Red.)
	27	c	5 Cal.	.
	28	d	4 Cal.	[? Vigilia. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (White.)
	29	e	3 Cal.	festum sancti Petri, *duplex.* (Red, or cloth of gold.)
	30	f	Prid. Cal.	Commemoratio sancti Pauli, et infra. (Red, or cloth of gold.)

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JULY HATH 31 DAYES.

	1	g	Calendæ	infra. [Octava S. Johannis Bapt. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (? White.)
	2	a	6 Non.	Visitatio beatæ Mariæ, et infra. [Depositio S. Swithuni, ep. conf.] (? White.)
Sub:	**3**	*B*	5 Non.	Do. et infra. (White.)
	4	c	4 Non.	translatio sancti Martini, et infra. (Red.)
	5	d	3 Non.	infra. (Red.)
	6	e	Prid. Non.	[Octava Apostolorum.] (Red.)
	7	f	Nonæ	translatio sancti Thomæ [Archiepiscopi.] (Red.)
	8	g	8 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	9	a	7 Id.	beatæ Mariæ. [? Vigilia Reliquiarum. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.]
Can:	**10**	*B*	6 Id.	Do. et festum reliquiarum, *duplex.*[a] (Cloth of gold.)
	11	c	5 Id.	.
	12	d	4 Id.	.
	13	e	3 Id.	[Mildredæ, V.] (White.)
	14	f	Prid. Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	15	g	Idus	.
	16	a	17 Cl. Aug.	beatæ Mariæ.
Pre:	**17**	*B*	16 Cal.	Do. et sancti Kenelmi. (Red.)
	18	c	15 Cal.	.
	19	d	14 Cal.	.
	20	e	13 Cal.	sanctæ Margaretæ. (White.)
	21	f	12 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	22	g	11 Cal.	sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, *duplex.*[b]
	23	a	10 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
Asgr:	**24**	*B*	9 Cal.	Do. [vi. post Trin.]
	25	c	8 Cal.	sancti Jacobi Apl̄i. (Red.)
	26	d	7 Cal.	sanctæ Annæ. [De SS. Christophoro et Cucufato in crastino S. Jacobi sec. quosdam.] (Yellow.)[c]
	27	e	6 Cal.	.
	28	f	5 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	29	g	4 Cal.	.
	30	a	3 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
Arch:	**31**	*B*	Prid. Cal.	Do. [vii. post Trin.]

[a] *Festum Reliquiarum Cathedralis Lincoln.* is given on July 14th.

[b] The feast of St. Mary Magdalen is called a *double*, also in the *Novum Registrum* of Bishop Alnwick (1440), p. 26. But on p. 43 it is styled "*semi-double.*"

[c] St. Anne is the only matron whose name I have observed in this Directory. Possibly the full Lincoln Kalendar, when it contained holy days of inferior dignity, exhibited such other *matronæ* as appear in the York Breviary; viz. Batildis (Jan. 30), Martha (Jul. 27), and Pelagia (Oct. 8).

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AUGUST HATH 31 DAYES.

	1	c	Calendæ	Sancti Petri ad vincula. (Red.)
	2	d	4 Non.	.
	3	e	3 Non.	inventio sancti Stephani. (Red.)
	4	f	Prid. Non.	sancti Hugonis.
	5	g	Nonæ	sancti Oswaldi. (Red.)
	6	a	8 Id.	beatæ Mariæ.
Sub:	7	*B*	7 Id.	Do: [viii. post Trin.—Festum S. Donati, ep. M.] (Red.)
	8	c	6 Id.	.
	9	d	5 Id.	.
	10	e	4 Id.	sancti Laurentii. (Red.)
	11	f	3 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	12	g	Prid. Id.	.
	13	a	Idus	beatæ Mariæ. [Hypoliti, etc. MM. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (Red.)
Can:	14	*B*	19 Cl. Sep.	Do: [ix. post Trin. In ceteris annis, ubi non dominica, Vigilia Assumptionis, *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.]
	15	c	18 Cal.	assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, *duplex.* (White or cloth of gold.)
	16	d	17 Cal.	infra.
	17	e	16 Cal.	infra.
	18	f	15 Cal.	infra. (White, etc.)
	19	g	14 Cal.	infra.
	20	a	13 Cal.	infra.
Pre:	21	*B*	12 Cal.	Do: et infra. (White, etc.)
	22	c	11 Cal.	Oct. assumptionis beatæ Mariæ. (White, etc.)
	23	d	10 Cal.	.
	24	e	9 Cal.	sancti Bartholomæi Apli. (Red.)
	25	f	8 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	26	g	7 Cal.	.
	27	a	6 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
Asgr:	28	*B*	5 Cal.	Do: et sancti Augustini. (Green or black.)
	29	c	4 Cal.	decollatio sancti Johannis. (Red.)
	30	d	3 Cal.	.
	31	e	Prid. Cal.	sancti Hugonis.

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SEPTEMBER HATH 30 DAYES.

	1	f	Calendæ	sancti Egidij. (Green or black.)
	2	g	4 Non.	beatæ Mariæ.
	3	a	3 Non.	sancti Gregorij [ordinatio. *Synodale.*] (Green or black.)
Arch:	**4**	*B*	Prid. Non.	Do: Translatio sancti Cuthberti. (Green or black.)
	5	c	Nonæ	.
	6	d	8 Id.	sancti Hugonis.
	7	e	7 Id.	beatæ Mariæ. [? Vigilia Nativitatis B. Mariæ. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (? White.)
	8	f	6 Id.	Nativitas beatæ Mariæ, *duplex.* (White, or cloth of gold.)
	9	g	5 Id.	infra. } (White.)
	10	a	4 Id.	infra. }
Sub:	**11**	*B*	3 Id.	Do: et infra [Oct. Nat. B.M.—Dom. xiii. post Trin. A.D. 1636.] (White.)
	12	c	Prid. Id.	infra. } (White.)
	13	d	Idus	infra. }
	14	e	18 Cl. Oct.	Exaltatio sanctæ crucis *duplex*[a] et infra.
	15	f	17 Cal.	Oct. beatæ Mariæ. (White.)
	16	g	16 Cal.	sancti Hugonis. [Feria iv. Quatuor Temporum. (White or red plain.)]
	17	a	15 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ. [*Finis.*][b]
	[**18**	b	14 Cal.	A booke to direct the Roles of Re and Ve *made for the yeare* 1635 w^ch^ began the 20th day of September *litera* D: *dominicalis* & Dñus Epus Prebend' de Asgarbie hys weeke to feede, and ends the 17th of Sep-
	19	c	13 Cal.]	tember Anno dñi 1636. *litera* B: *dominicalis.*
Asgr:	**20**	D	12 Cal.	Do[minica xvii. post Trin. A.D. 1635].
	21	e	11 Cal.	sancti Matthei. (Red.)
	22	f	10 Cal.	sancti Mauritii. (Red.)
	23	g	9 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	24	a	8 Cal.	.
	25	b	7 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	26	c	6 Cal.	.
Arch:	**27**	D	5 Cal.	Do: [xviii. post Trin.]
	28	e	4 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	29	f	3 Cal.	sancti Michaelis Archangeli; *Duplex.*[a] (bis.)
	30	g	Prid. Cal.	sancti Jeronimi. (Green or black).

[a] Holy Cross Day appears likewise as a "*double*" feast on p. 26 of the *Novum Registrum* of 1440, but as a "*semi-double*," on p. 43 *ibid.* So also Michaelmas Day.

[b] It should be borne in mind that the MS. from which we print referred originally to a year beginning conventionally in the middle of September 1635, and ending in September 1636. For the sake of getting the immoveable Feasts in the ordinary Kalendar sequence we have tacked the head on to the tail of the MS. so as to make it serve generally for any year so far as the Saints' Days are concerned. It happens, fortunately, that the two days which, owing to its construction, do not occur anywhere in our MS. (September 18th—19th) are probably unimportant. At least, in the Sarum, York, and Hereford Kalendars they are blank.

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OCTOBER HATH 31 DAYES.

	1	a	Calendæ	.
	2	b	6 Non.	beatæ Mariæ.
	3	c	5 Non.	dedicatio ecclesiæ, et infra. (Cloth of gold.)
Subd:	4	*D*	4 Non.	Do: et infra. [Francisci, Conf.]
	5	e	3 Non.	infra.
	6	f	Prid. Non.	sanct' Hugonis [Translatio, *Synodale*] et infra.
	7	g	Nonæ	sancte Osithæ, et infra [*non Sarum, sed Herford.*]
	8	a	8 Id.	infra.
	9	b	7 Id.	sancti Dionisii, et infra.
	10	c	6 Id.	Oct. dedicationis Ecclie. (Cloth of gold.)
Can:	11	*D*	5 Id.	Do: et infra. [S. Augustini.]
	12	e	4 Id.	infra.
	13	f	3 Id.	[? Oct. Transl. S. Hugonis.]
	14	g	Prid Id.	sancti Edwardi.[a] (Green or black.)
	15	a	Idus	beatæ Mariæ.
	16	b	17 Cl. Nov.	sancti Michaelis super montem.
	17	c	16 Cal.	.
Pre:	18	*D*	15 Cal.	Do: et sancti Luciæ [*leg.* "Lucæ"] Evangel.
	19	e	14 Cal.	sanctæ Frediswidæ. (White.)
	20	f	13 Cal.	.
	21	g	12 Cal.	undecim millia virginum. (Red.)
	22	a	11 Cal.	sancti Hugonis.
	23	b	10 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	24	c	9 Cal.	.
Asgr:	25	*D*	8 Cal.	Do: et sancti Hugonis.
	26	e	7 Cal.	.
	27	f	6 Cal.	.
	28	g	5 Cal.	festum sanctorum Simonis et Judæ. (Red.)
	29	a	4 Cal.	.
	30	b	3 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	31	c	Prid. Cal.	[Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum.] (White or red, plain.)

[a] The Translation of St. Edward, king and confessor, is placed on the 13th in the Sarum and other kalendars.

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NOVEMBER HATH 30 DAYES.

Arch:	**1**	*D*	Calendæ	Do: et omnium sanctorum, *duplex.*
	2	e	4 Non.	Coñemoratio Animarun.
	3	f	3 Non.	Winfredæ virginis. (Red.)
	4	g	Prid. Non.	sancti Hugonis.
	5	a	Nonæ	beatæ Mariæ.
	6	b	8 Id.	Sancti Leonardi. (Green or black.)
	7	c	7 Id.	.
Sub:	**8**	*D*	6 Id.	Do: [xxiv. post Trin. A.D. 1635.]
	9	e	5 Id.	.
	10	f	4 Id.	Sancti Hugonis.
	11	g	3 Id.	Sancti Martini. (Green or black.)
	12	a	Prid. Id.	.
	13	b	Idus.	beatæ Mariæ. [S. Bricij. iij. lect. cum proprijs laudibus, *Consuet.* 1260, *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (Green or black.)
	14	c	18 Cl. Dec.	.
Can:	**15**	*D*	17 Cal.	Do: [xxv. post Trin. A.D. 1635.]
	16	e	16 Cal.	Sancti Edmundi dep[osi]tio. (Green or black.)
	17	f	15 Cal.	depositio sancti Hugonis, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	18	g	14 Cal.	infra. [et octava S. Martini. *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.]
	19	a	13 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ, et infra. (Cloth of gold.)
	20	b	12 Cal.	Sancti Edmundi Regis, et infra.
	21	c	11 Cal.	infra. (Cloth of gold.)
Pre:	**22**	*D*	10 Cal.	Do: sanctæ Ciciliæ, et infra.
	23	e	9 Cal.	Sancti Clementis, et infra.
	24	f	8 Cal.	Oct. sancti Hugonis. (Cloth of gold.)
	25	g	7 Cal.	Sanctæ Katherinæ. (? *Semiduplex.*)[a] (Red.)
	26	a	6 Cal.	.
	27	b	5 Cal.	beatæ Mariæ.
	28	c	4 Cal.	.
Asgr:	**29**	*D*	3 Cal.	Do: [i. Adventus Domini, A.D. 1635.]
	30	e	Prid. Cal.	Sancti Andreæ Ap'li. (? *Semiduplex.*)[a] (Red.)

[a] The feasts of St. Katherine and St. Andrew appear in a list of "*festa duplicia*" in the draft *Novum Registrum* of 1440, p. 26. But lower down in the same document they are mentioned among the eight *semiduplicia*. The list as printed in 1873, p. 43, is corrupt.

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DECEMBER HATH 31 DAYES.

	1	f	Calendæ	Sancti Hugonis. [Maud, v.] (White.)
	2	g	4 Non.	.
	3	a	3 Non.	Sancti Libiani [*non Sarum.*[a] S. Birini depositio.] (Green or black.)
	4	b	Prid. Non.	beatæ Mariæ. [S. Eligij Abbat.]
	5	c	Nonæ	.
Arch:	**6**	*D*	8 Id.	Do: et Sancti Nicholai, *duplex.*[b] (Green or black.)
	7	e	7 Id.	.
	8	f	6 Id.	Conceptio beatæ Mariæ. (White.)
	9	g	5 Id.	Sancti Hugonis.
	10	a	4 Id.	.
	11	b	3 Id.	[Damasi papæ conf.] (Green or black.)
	12	c	Prid. Id.	.
Sub:	**13**	*D*	Idus.	Do: et sanctæ Luc[i]æ virginis. (Red.)
	14	e	19 Cl. Jan.	.
	15	f	18 Cal.	.
	16	g	17 Cal.	[Feria iv. Quatuor Temporum.] (White.)
	17	a	16 Cal.	.
	18	b	15 Cal.	[Feria vi. Quatuor Temporum.] (White.)
	19	c	14 Cal.	[Sabbato Quatuor Temporum.] (White.)
Can:	**20**	*D*	13 Cal.	Do: [iv. Advent, A.D. 1635.]
	21	e	12 Cal.	Sancti Thomæ Ap'li. (Red.)
	22	f	11 Cal.	.
	23	g	10 Cal.	.
	24	a	9 Cal.	["Vigilia," *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.] (White.)
	25	b	8 Cal.	Nativitas Domini, *duplex.* (Cloth of gold.)
	26	c	7 Cal.	sancti Stephani, *duplex* et infra. (Cloth of gold.)
Decan:	**27**	*D*	6 Cal.	Do: sancti Johannis Evang. *duplex* et infra. (Cloth of gold.)
	28	e	5 Cal.	sanctorum Innocentium, *duplex* et infra. (Cloth of gold. Red for the Boy Bishop.)[c]
	29	f	4 Cal.	sancti Thomæ Beckett, *duplex* et infra. (Cloth of gold.)
	30	g	3 Cal.	infra [Natale.]
	31	a	Pr. Cl. Jan.	infra. ["Vigilia Circumcisionis," *Nov. Reg.* p. 26.]

[a] Libianus I do not find elsewhere. Bibiana or Vivien, V.M. appears in some kalendars on Dec. 2nd.

[b] The feast of St. Nicholas is likewise called a *double* in the *Novum Registrum*, p. 26. But in another place [p. 43] it is called a *semi-double.*

[c] "Item . . . a cope of red velvet, with rolls and clouds, ordained for the Barn-Bishop, with this scripture, The high-way is best." *Monasticon*, vi. p. 1282. So also at York, *ibid.* vi. p. 1208 (two entries).

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APPENDIX II.

KALENDARIUM

SUMPTUM DE CONSUETUDINARIO VENERABILIS MONASTERII DE BURGO SANCTI PETRI.

Words written in red ink in the original are here noted by *italic type*, and the words abbreviated in the MS. are here written at length. The foot-notes (it need hardly be added) are editorial additions, as dates, etc. in square brackets.

The Kalendars in the two volumes of the *Consuetudinarium* differ somewhat in a few unimportant details. The transcript here printed is that of volume i. with some various readings from the second volume.

[COMPUTUS.]

Post primam [primam[a] immediatae] sequentem epiphaniam computa x dies et in die dominica sequenti cla . . .

Post secundam primam computa duos dies et in dominica sequenti erit quadragesimae.

Post tertiam primam computa. xiiij. dies et in dominica sequenti erit pascha.

Post quartam primam[b] computa. xx. dies et in dominica sequenti erunt rogationes.

Post quintam primam computa. iiii^{or} dies et in dominica sequenti erit pentecostes.[c]

[a] "The Primes, as they are called . . . are the Golden Numbers from i. to xix., which shew the days of New Moon for each year of the cycle of nineteen years, after which the changes of the moon recur again in the same order." *Missale Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, p. 2**. The text, now partially illegible, gives the rule to find the earliest Septuagesima (January 18th).

[b] *i.e.* after the fourth prime counted after the "Primum Pascha" (March 22).

[c] The true earliest Pentecost is May 10th. Medieval kalendars give May 11th.

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JANUARIUS.

Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis.

1	A	Kalendae	*Circumcisio domini.—c.*
2	b	4 Non.	Octabas Sancti Stephani.—t.
3	c	3 Non.	Oct. Sancti *Johannis evangelistae.—d.* Depositio dompni Martini abbatis. [A.D. 1155.]
4	d	Prid. Non.	Oct. Innocencium.—t.
5	e	Nonae	.
6	f	8 Id.	*Epiphania domini.—c.* Depositio Willelmi de Hotot abbatis [*circa* A.D. 1249], et Anniversarium Ricardi de Watervile et Johannis filii ejus.
7	g	7 Id.	ℂ Claves ^{e}lxx.
8	A	6 Id.	.
9	b	5 Id.	.
10	c	4 Id.	Pauli primi heremitae.—t.
11	d	3 Id.	.
12	e	Prid. Id.	.
13	f	Idus.	*Oct. Epiphaniae* et Hyllarii episcopi et confessoris.—*d.* Depositio Elsini abbatis [A.D. 1055.]. Anniversarium Mathaei capellani.
14	g	19 Kl. Feb.	Felicis in pincis, confessoris. t.
15	A	18 Kal.	*Mauri abbatis et confessoris.* *d.*
16	b	17 Kal.	Marcelli. t.
17	c	16 Kal.	*Antonii abbatis.* *a.*
18	d	15 Kal.	Priscae virginis et martiris. t.
19	e	14 Kal.	*Vulstani episcopi.* *d.* Hic potest esse dominica Septuagesimae.
20	f	13 Kal.	Fabiani et Sebastiani d.
21	g	12 Kal.	*Agnetis virginis et martiris.* *d.*
22	A	11 Kal.	*Vincencii martiris.* *a.*
23	b	10 Kal.	Emerentianae virginis et martiris. t.
24	c	9 Kal.	Babilli episcopi cum tribus parvulis.—t. Depositio dompñi Elfrici Archiepiscopi.[a]
25	d	8 Kal.	*Conversio sancti pauli.* Prejecti martiris.—*a.*
26	e	7 Kal.	.
27	f	6 Kal.	*Juliani episcopi.—d.*
28	g	5 Kal.	Oct. sanctae Agnetis virginis et martiris.—t.
29	A	4 Kal.	.
30	b	3 Kal.	.
31	c	Prid. Kal.	.

Januarius habet dies xxxi. luna xxx.

Nox habet horas xvi. dies viii.

Post epi. t. p. post. t. p. tercia pascha [hoc est, post Epi]phaniam computa tres primas, post quas in tercia dominica sequitur (*al.*) erit Pascha.[b]

[a] Elfric Puttoc, archbishop of York, died at Southwell in 1050, and was buried at Peterborough.

[b] The various readings noted on this and subsequent pages arise from the fact that the kalendar exists in duplicate. See above, p. 8.

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FEBRUARIUS.

Quarta subit mortem, prosternit tercia fortem.

1	d	Kalendae	Brigidae virginis.—t.
2	e	4 Non.	*Purificatio Sanctae Mariae virginis.—c.*
3	f	3 Non.	Blasii episcopi et martiris. Uuerburgae virginis.—d.
4	g	Prid. Non.	Caput ieiunii Hic potest esse.
5	A	Nonae	*Agathae virginis et martiris.—d.*
6	b	8 Id.	Vedasti et Amandi.—d.
7	c	7 Id.	.
8	d	6 Id.	Dominica prima quadragesimae hic potest esse.
9	e	5 Id.	["Apolloniae virginis xiij. lectionum" manu 2da.]
10	f	4 Id.	*Scolasticae virginis.* Austrobertae virginis.—d.
11	g	3 Id.	.
12	A	Prid. Id.	["Translacio sanctae ffrydeswydae virginis xii. lectionum" manu 2da.]
13	b	Idus	Ermenildae reginae. xij. lectionum.
14	c	16 Kl. Mar.	Valentini martiris.—t.
15	d	15 Kal.	["obitus fratris Willelmi Edlinton," manu 2da.]
16	e	14 Kal.	*Julianae virginis et martiris.—d.*
17	f	13 Kal.	.
18	g	12 Kal.	.
19	A	11 Kal.	.
20	b	10 Kal.	.
21	c	9 Kal.	Dominica Septuagesimae hic potest esse, sed non post. Depositio Dompñi Andreae abbatis [A.D 1199]. ℂ Abbas missam celebrabit.
22	d	8 Kal.	*Cathedra sancti Petri.—c.*
23	e	7 Kal.	.
24	f	6 Kal.	*Sancti Mathiae apostoli.—a.*
25	g	5 Kal.	.
26	A	4 Kal.	("Memoria Fundatorum et benefactorum Monasterii istius fiat in prima septimana Quadragesimae vel 2da vel 3ia omni anno absque ulteriori dilacione. Prior terciam leccionem, Abbas Missam. Conventus in albis.")[a]
27	b	3 Kal.	.
28	c	Prid. Kal.	Sancti Oswaldi archiepiscopi.—d.

Februarius habet dies xxviii. luna xxix.[b]

Nox habet horas xiiii. Dies x.

[a] This entry is in a later hand.

[b] This note stands at the top of the page in vol. i.

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MARTIUS.

Primus mandentem dirumpit, quarta bibentem.

	1	d	Kalendae	Martius. David episcopi.—d. Depositio dompni Johannis de Caleto abbatis [A.D. 1249] et anniversaria[a] patris et matris ejus. Et anniversarium Yvonis supprioris. Abbas missam celebrabit, et prior terciam lectionem leget ad dirige, quia ista deposicio est in albis.
	2	e	6 Non.	Ceddae episcopi. O.—d.
	3	f	5 Non.	.
	4	g	4 Non.	.
	5	A	3 Non.	.
	6	b	Prid. Non.	*Kyneburgae et kynesw[idae] ac Tibbae—c.*
	7	c	Nonae	Perpetuae et felicitatis martirum.—t.
	8	d	8 Id.	*Post Martis nonas ubi primum prima notatur*
	9	e	7 Id.	Septenos bis perge dies ut Pascha sequatur
	10	f	6 Id.	*Terminus et Festum nunquam celebrantur eodem.*
	11	g	5 Id.	.
	12	A	4 Id.	*Gregorii* ["*papae*" erased]—a. Depositio dompñi Akarij abbatis [A.D. 1210]. Abbas missam celebrabit.
	13	b	3 Id.	.
	14	c	Prim. Id.	.
	15	d	Idus	.
	16	e	17 Kl. Apr.	Sancti Patricij episcopi.—d.
	17	f	16 Kal.	.
	18	g	15 Kal.	[" Sancti Edwardi regis et martiris—d." manu 2[da]]. *Sol in ariete.*
	19	A	14 Kal.	.
	20	b	13 Kal.	Cuthberti episcopi et confessoris—d.
14	21	c	12 Kal.	*Benedicti abbatis.*—*a.* Depositio dompni Roberti de Suttoñ abbatis [A.D. 1273]. Et anniversarium Henrici aurifabri et Johannis de trikyngham prioris. Abbas missam celebrabit.
3	22	d	11 Kal.	.
	23	e	10 Kal.	.
11	24	f	9 Kal.	.
	25	g	8 Kal.	*Annunciacio Sanctae Mariae Virginis.—c.*
19	26	A	7 Kal.	.
8	27	b	6 Kal.	Resurrectio Christi prima.[b]
	28	c	5 Kal.	.
16	29	d	4 Kal.	.
5	30	e	3 Kal.	.
	31	f	Prid. Kal.	.

Martius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.[c]
Nox habet horas xii. Dies xii.

[a] This is printed "pro anima" in the *Monasticon*.

[b] "Resurrectio Christi" is marked "Capp̃," in Robert of Lindsey's Psalter.

[c] This line stands at the top of the page in vol. i. And so in the other months.

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APRILIS.

Denus et undenus est mortis vulnere plenus.

13	1	g	Kalendae	.
2	2	A	4 Non.	.
	3	b	3 Non.	.
10	4	c	Prid. Non.	*Ambrosii episcopi et confessoris.—d.*
	5	d	Nonae	.
18	6	e	8 Id.	.
7	7	f	7 Id.	.
	8	g	6 Id.	.
15	9	A	5 Id.	Mariae Egyptiacae.—t.
4	10	b	4 Id.	Depositio Thoroldi [A.D. 1098] et Eudonis abbatum. Et Anniversarium Roberti de Hale et Agnetis matris ejus.
	11	c	3 Id.	*Leonis et Guthlaci—d.*
12	12	d	Prid. Id.	.
1	13	e	Idus	.
	14	f	18 Kl. Maii.	Tiburcij et Valeriani martirum.—t.
9	15	g	17 Kal.	.
	16	A	16 Kal.	.
17	17	b	15 Kal.	. ¶ *Sol in tauro.*
6	18	c	14 Kal.	Memorandum quod feria ii. quartae ebdomadae Quadragesimae Missa matutinalis cum cappa in choro festive celebrabitur pro animabus patrum et matrum et parentum et omnium Monachorum istius loci, nisi festum xii leccionum impedierit; et tunc in ebdomada eadem recuperabitur. *Oratio.* Inclina. Et nota quod debet in Capitulo legi.
	19	d	13 Kal.	Elphegi archiepiscopi et martiris.—*d.*
	20	e	12 Kal.	.
	21	f	11 Kal.	.
	22	g	10 Kal.	.
	23	A	9 Kal.	*Georgii martiris.*—a.
	24	b	8 Kal.	Yvonis episcopi et confessoris.—t.
	25	c	7 Kal.	*Marci evangelistae.* ¶ *Letania major.*
	26	d	6 Kal.	.
	27	e	5 Kal.	.
	28	f	4 Kal.	Vitalis martiris.—t.
	29	g	3 Kal.	.
	30	A	Prid. Kal.	.

Aprilis habet dies xxx. Luna xxix.
Nox habet horas x. Dies xiiii.

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MAYUS.

Tercius occidit, et septimus ora relidid. (*sic*)

1	b	Kalendae	*Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi.—a.* Notandum quod in ebdomada prima Maÿ legenda et facienda est convencio inter ecclesias Burgi et de sancto Victore, et habebunt missam ferialem ad quam cantabitur De profundis. Et cibus ea die ponatur ad mensam. *Prima Oratio.* Inclina.
2	c	6 Non.	Athanasii episcopi.—t.
3	d	5 Non.	*Invencio Sanctae Crucis.* Alexandri Evencii et Teodoli.—*c.*
4	e	4 Non.	.
5	f	3 Non.	.
6	g	Prid. Non.	*Johannis ante portam latinam.—d.*
7	A	Nonae	Johannis episcopi (de Beverlaco).[a]—t.
8	b	8 Id.	.
9	c	7 Id.	.
10	d	6 Id.	*Gordiani et Epimachi.—d.*
11	e	5 Id.	.
12	f	4 Id.	Nerei et Achillei atque Epimachi.—d.
13	g	3 Id.	.
14	A	Prid. Id.	.
15	b	Idus	.
16	c	17 Kl. Jun.	Sciendum est quod in ebdomada Pentecostes facienda esset commemoracio specialium defunctorum. Sed propter solempnitatem festi defertur in ebdomadam sequentem et habebit missam ferialem cum De profundis *Prima Oratio* Inclina, Domine.[b]
17	d	16 Kal.	.
18	e	15 Kal.	. ☾ Sol in geminis.
19	f	14 Kal.	*Dunstani archiepiscopi*, et Potentianae virginis.—*c.*
20	g	13 Kal.	.
21	A	12 Kal.	Festum Corporis Christi hic primo potest evenire.
22	b	11 Kal.	.
23	c	10 Kal.	.
24	d	9 Kal.	*Historia* Domine ne in ira. *Hic primo potest inchoari.*
25	e	8 Kal.	Urbani episcopi et martiris, et Aldelmi episcopi et confessoris.— t.
26	f	7 Kal.	*Augustini episcopi.—c.*
27	g	6 Kal.	.
28	A	5 Kal.	Depositio Dompni Arnewyni abbatis [A.D. 1063.—This is placed on the 30th in vol. i.]
29	b	4 Kal.	.
30	c	3 Kal.	.
31	d	Prid. Kal.	*Petronillae virginis.—a.*

Maius habet dies xxxj. Luna xxx.

Nox habet horas viii. Dies xvi.

[a] In the second volume only.

[b] "In Whitsun week was Commemoratio specialium Defunctorum," *i. e.* says Dr. Patrick, "in some of the Ember Days. For so I find in our Records, fol. cclxiv. 'Statutum est in Capitulo per Dominum Robertum Abbatem communi Conventus consensu, quod quater in anno fiat commemoratio omnium defunctorum, quorum debitores sumus per specialem Conventionem sive Societatem, scilicet aliqua die quae vacaverit in ebdomada quatuor temporum.'" Dugdale, *Monast.* (ed. 1846), i. 362.

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JUNIUS.

Denus pallescit undenus federa nescit.

1	e	Kalendae	
2	f	4 Non.	Marcellini et Petri.—t.
3	g	3 Non.	. ☾ *Ultimus dies Ascensionis.*
4	A	Prid. non.	.
5	b	Nonae	Depositio Adulphi episcopi.[a] Et anniversarium Ricardi de Lincolnia et Agnetis uxoris eius.
6	c	8 Id.	.
7	d	7 Id.	.
8	e	6 Id.	Medardi atque Gildardi.—t.
9	f	5 Id.	Primi et Feliciani martirum.—t.
10	g	4 Id.	.
11	A	3 Id.	*Barnabae apostoli.—d.*
12	b	Prid. Id.	Basildis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii.—t.
13	c	Idus.	.
14	d	18 Kl. Julii.	.
15	e	17 Kal.	Viti Modesti et Crescenciae martirum.—t.
16	f	16 Kal.	Cirici et Julictae matris ejus martirum.—t.
17	g	15 Kal.	*Botulphi abbatis.—d.*
18	A	14 Kal.	Marci et Marcelliani martirum.—t.
19	b	13 Kal.	*Gervasii et Prothasii martirum.—d.*
20	c	12 Kal.	.
21	d	11 Kal.	Leufridi abbatis.—t.
22	e	10 Kal.	*Albani martiris.—d.*
23	f	9 Kal.	Etheldredae virginis. *Vigilia.*
24	g	8 Kal.	*Nativitas Sancti Johannis baptistae.—c. Festivitas Corporis Christi hic potest esse.*
25	A	7 Kal.	.
26	b	6 Kal.	Johannis et Pauli martirum.—d. Depositio dompni Martini abbatis. [A.D. 1233.]
27	c	5 Kal.	.
28	d	4 Kal.	Leonis [" papae " erased.]. *Vigilia.*
29	e	3 Kal.	*Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,—prin*[cipale duplex in Ecclesia Sancti Petri apud Burg.]
30	f	Prid. Kal.	Commemoratio sancti Pauli.—a.

Junius habet dies xxx. Luna xxix.
Nox habet horas vi. Dies xviii.

[a] Probably Aldulf or Adulf who had been abbat of Peterborough. He held the bishopric of Worcester with the archbishopric of York. Le Neve says that he was buried at St. Mary's Worcester, having died 6 *May*, 1002. There was an Aldulf bishop of Rochester, *circa* 740; of Lincoln, 750: of Lichfield, 786; of Hereford, 997.

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JULIUS.

Tredecimus mactat Julii decimus labefactat.

1	g	Kalendae	Julius. *Oct. Sancti Johannis baptistae.—d.*
2	A	6 Non.	*Swithini episcopi.* Processi et Martiniani martirum.—d.
3	b	5 Non.	.
4	c	4 Non.	*Translacio sancti Martini episcopi.—d.*
5	d	3 Non.	.
6	e	Prid. Non.	*Oct. Apostolorum*, et Sexburgae virginis.—c.
7	f	Nonae	["*Translacio Sancti Thomae martiris*" erased.]—*c.*
8	g	8 Id.	.
9	A	7 Id.	.
10	b	6 Id.	Septem fratrum martirum.—t.
11	c	5 Id.	*Translacio sancti Benedicti abbatis.—c.*
12	d	4 Id.	.
13	e	3 Id.	Depositio episcoporum Gamalielis et Huberti [A.D. 1205].[a]
14	f	Prid. Id.	.
15	g	Idus.	.
16	A	17 Kl. Aug.	.
17	b	16 Kal.	Kenelmi regis et martiris.—t
18	c	15 Kal.	*Oct. sancti Benedicti.* Incipiunt dies caniculares.—*d.*
19	d	14 Kal.	.
20	e	13 Kal.	*Margaretae virginis et martiris.—d.*
21	f	12 Kal.	Praxedis virginis.—t.
22	g	11 Kal.	*Mariae Magdalenae.* Wandragesile abbatis.—*a.*
23	A	10 Kal.	Appolinaris martiris.—t.
24	b	9 Kal.	Christinae virginis. *Vigilia.*
25	c	8 Kal.	*Jacobi apostoli.* Christofori et Cucufatis.—*a.*
26	d	7 Kal.	.
27	e	6 Kal.	Septem dormiencium.—t.
28	f	5 Kal.	Samsonis episcopi et Pantaleonis martiris.—t.
29	g	4 Kal.	Felicis Simplicii Faustinae et Beatricis martirum.—t.
30	A	3 Kal.	Abdon et Sennen martirum.—t.
31	b	Prid. Kal.	*Germani et Neoti abbatis.—a.*

Julius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.
Nox habet horas viii. Dies xvi.

[a] Hubert Walter of Sarum and Canterbury died 29 June, and was buried 13 July, 1205. There was a Gamaliel bishop of Sodor and Man, *circa* 1160.

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AUGUSTUS.

Prima necat fortem, perditque secunda cohortem.

1	c	Kalendae	*Ad Vincula sancti Petri.* Machabeorum.—*c.* Deposicio dompni Ricardi de London abbatis [A.D. 1295]. In albis. Abbas missam celebrabit. Prior iiij. lectiones leget. Propiciare animabus famulorum tuorum, s. patris et matris quamvis nomina illorum non legantur cum deposicione.
2	d	4 Non.	*Adelwoldi episcopi.* Stephani . . et martiris.—*c.*
3	e	3 Non.	Invencio sancti Stephani sociorumque ejus.—d.
4	f	Prid. Non.	.
5	g	Nonae	*Oswaldi regis et martiris.—prin*[*cipale*].
6	A	8 Id.	Sixti Felicissimi et Agapiti martirum.—t.
7	b	7 Id.	Donati episcopi et martiris.—t.
8	c	6 Id.	Ciriaci martiris cum sociis suis.—t.
9	d	5 Id.	*Vigilia.* Deposicio dompni Godfridi de Croyland Abbatis [A.D. 1142].[a] Abbas missam celebrabit: prior terciam leccionem leget. *Oracio* Propiciare animabus famulorum tuorum s. patris et matris. Et nota quod istam missam conventus in albis esset. Et precentor cum succentore et tribus senioribus chorum tenere (? regere) solebant.
10	e	4 Id.	*Laurencii martiris.*—A.
11	f	3 Id.	Taurini episcopi. Tiburcii martiris.—d.
12	g	Prid. Id.	Oct. sancti Oswaldi regis.—*c.*
13	A	Idus	Ypoliti martiris cum sociis suis.—t.
14	b	19 Kl. Sep.	Eusebii presbiteri.—t.
15	c	18 Kal.	*Assumptio sanctae Mariae virginis.—prin*[*cipale*].
16	d	17 Kal.	.
17	e	16 Kal.	Oct. sancti Laurencii.—t.
18	f	15 Kal.	Agapiti martiris.—t.
19	g	14 Kal.	Magni martiris.—t.
20	A	13 Kal.	.
21	b	12 Kal.	.
22	c	11 Kal.	*Oct. sanctae Mariae.* Timothei et Simphor[ian] martirum.[b]—*c.*
23	d	10 Kal.	*Vigilia.*
24	e	9 Kal.	*Bartholomei apostoli.* Audoeni episcopi.—*a.*
25	f	8 Kal.	.
26	g	7 Kal.	.
27	A	6 Kal.	Rufi martiris.—t.
28	b	5 Kal.	*Augustini episcopi.* Hermetis martiris.—*d.* Deposicio Willelmi Landavensis episcopi [scil. W. de Burgo, A.D. 1254]. Et anniversarium dompni Reginaldi presbyteri.
29	c	4 Kal.	*Decollacio sancti Johannis Baptistae.* Sabinae.—*a.*
30	d	3 Kal.	Felicis et Adauti martirum.—t.
31	e	Prid. Kal.	*Aydani episcopi.—d.*

Augustus habet dies xxxi. Luna xxix.
Nox habet horas x. Dies xiiii.

[a] In the *Monasticon*, ii. p. 101, *April* is given as the month of his death.

[b] Timothy and *Symphorian* are commemorated in the Sarum use on the 22nd; but Timothy and *Apollinaris* appear in the kalendar on the 23rd.

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SEPTEMBRIS.

Tercia Septembris et denus fert mala membris.

1	f	Kalendae	*Egidii abbatis.* Prisci martiris.—*d.*
2	g	4 Non.	Deposicio Willelmi de Wodeford abbatis [A.D. 1299]. Et anniversarium Johannis de Gretham. Abbas missam celebrabit.
3	A	3 Non.	*Ordinacio sancti Gregorii.—d.*
4	b	Prid. Non.	Translacio sancti Cuthberti.—d.
5	c	Nonae	Bertini abbatis. *Hic finiunt dies caniculares.*—d.
6	d	8 Id.	.
7	e	7 Id.	.
8	f	6 Id.	*Nativitas sanctae Mariae.* Adriani martiris.—*c.*
9	g	5 Id.	Gorgonii martiris et Audomari episcopi.—t.
10	A	4 Id.	*Translacio sancti Athelwoldi episcopi.—a.*
11	b	3 Id.	Prothi et Jacinti.—t.
12	c	Prid Id.	.
13	d	Idus.	In ebdomada iiij^{or} temporum legenda et facienda est commemoracio specialium defunctorum et habebunt missam ferialem cum de profundis, et *oracio* principalis, Inclina, Domine.
14	e	18 Kl. Oct.	*Exaltacio sanctae crucis.* Cornelii et Cipriani martirum.—c.
15	f	17 Kal.	*Oct. Sanctae Mariae* et Nichomedi martiris.—*c.*
16	g	16 Kal.	Edithae virginis Luciae Geminiani et Eufemiae martirum—d.
17	A	15 Kal.	Lamberti episcopi et martiris. *Sol in libram.*
18	b	14 Kal.	.
19	c	13 Kal.	.
20	d	12 Kal.	*Vigilia.*
21	e	11 Kal.	*Mathei apostoli et evangelistae.—a.*
22	f	10 Kal.	Mauricii cum sociis suis.—a.
23	g	9 Kal.	.
24	A	8 Kal.	.
25	b	7 Kal.	Firmini episcopi et martiris.—t. Depositio dompni Benedicti abbatis [A.D. 1193]. Abbas missam celebrabit. Et prior iij^{am} leccionem leget. et conventus in albis ad missam.
26	c	6 Kal.	.
27	d	5 Kal.	*Florentini martiris sociorumque eius.—c.*
28	e	4 Kal.	*Dedicacio ecclesiae Burgi.—prin.*
29	f	3 Kal.	*Michaelis archangeli.—c.*
30	g	Prid. Kal.	Ieronimi presbiteri.—d.

September habet dies xxx. Luna xxx.
Nox habet horas xvi. Dies vii. (sic).

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OCTOBRIS.

Tercia cum cena. clamat sis integra vena.

1	A	Kalendae	Germani et Remigii episcoporum.—d.
2	b	6 Non.	Leodegarii episcopi et martiris.—d.
3	c	5 Non.	[infra][a] *Oct. dedicacionis.—c.*
4	d	4 Non.	*Translatio sancti Hugonis.* Fidis virginis.—*d.*
5	e	3 Non.	[*Oct. Dedicacionis Ecclesiae Burgi.*][a] Sergi et Bachi cum sociis suis.—d.
6	f	Prid. Non.	Depositio dompni Roberti abbatis de Ramesey [A.D. 1361]. Et fratris Thomae de Burgo. Abbas missam celebrabit.[b]
7	g	Nonae	.
8	A	8 Id.	.
9	b	7 Id.	*Dionisii sociorumque eius.—a.*
10	c	6 Id.	Paulini episcopi.—t.
11	d	5 Id.	*Nicasii cum sociis.* Ethelburgae virginis.—d.
12	e	4 Id.	*Vilfridi episcopi.—d.*
13	f	3 Id.	Translacio sancti Edwardi regis.—d.
14	g	Prid. Id.	Calixti ("papae" *erased*).—t.
15	A	Idus	Vulf[rann]i. Depositio Dompni Eylrici episcopi [Dunelm. A.D. 1072].[c] Et memoria interfectorum.
16	b	17 Kl. Nov.	*Michaelis in monte.—d.*
17	c	16 Kal.	.
18	d	15 Kal.	*Lucae evangelistae.* Justi martiris.—*a.*
19	e	14 Kal.	☾ *Sol in scorpione.*
20	f	13 Kal.	.
21	g	12 Kal.	*Festivitas reliquiarum.—c.*
22	A	11 Kal.	Mellonis episcopi.—d. Depositio dompni Mathiae abbatis [A.D. 1107]. Et memoria Wynegoti monachi.[d]
23	b	10 Kal.	Romani episcopi.—t.
24	c	9 Kal.	.
25	d	8 Kal.	Crispini et Crispiniani martirum.—t.
26	e	7 Kal.	*Vigilia.*
27		6 Kal.	*Apostolorum Simonis et Judae.—a.*
28	g	5 Kal.	Depositio dompni Roberti de Lyndesey abbatis [A.D. 1222]. In albis. Prior leget tertiam lectionem. Abbas missam celebrabit.
29	A	4 Kal.	.
30	b	3 Kal.	Germani episcopi.—t.
31	c	Prid. Kal.	Quintini martiris. *Vigilia.*—t.

October habet dies xxxi. Luna xxix.

Nox habet horas xiiii. Dies x.

[a] There is clearly some mistake in the MS. Either the Dedication day should be on the 26th of September instead of the 28th, or else the words which I have ventured to insert at Oct. 3rd and 5th are requisite.

[b] The death of Robert de Ramsey (1361) is the latest which I have observed in the original hand of the kalendar.

[c] "This Wynegot brought St. Oswald's arm hither from Bebeburch." Dugdale, *Monast.* i. 362.

[d] Egelric resigned the bishopric of Durham in favour of his brother Egelwin in 1056. Both of them died in prison. The former was buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas, Westminster, Oct. 15, 1072.

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NOVEMBRIS.

Scorpius est quintus, et tercius est nece cintus (*sic*).

1	d	Kalendae	*Solempnitas omnium sanctorum—prin.* Depositio Lefridi abbatis [A.D. 1066.]
2	e	4 Non.	Eustachii cum sociis suis.—d.
3	f	3 Non.	.
4	g	Prid. Non.	Nota quod abbas celebrabit missam pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.
5	A	Nonae	
6	b	8 Id.	*Leonardi abbatis.—d.*
7	c	7 Id.	.
8	d	6 Id.	Quatuor coronatorum martirum.—t.
9	e	5 Id.	Theodori martiris.—t.
10	f	4 Id.	Depositio Johannis de Says [A.D. 1128]. Et anniversarium Henrici Talbot. Et Ricardi de Spaldygne.
11	g	3 Id.	*Martini episcopi.* Menne martiris.—c.
12	A	Prid. Id.	.
13	b	Idus	Bricii episcopi.—d.
14	c	18 Kl. Dec.	.
15	d	17 Kal.	.
16	e	16 Kal.	Edmundi archiepiscopi.—d.
17	f	15 Kal.	*Hugonis episcopi.* Aniani episcopi et Hyldae virginis.—c. Depositio Alexandri abbatis [A.D. 1226]. Et anniversarium Rigenildi de castro et Matildis uxoris eius.
18	g	14 Kal.	Oct. sancti Martini. *Sol in sagittario.*—d.
19	A	13 Kal.	.
20	b	12 Kal.	*Edmundi regis et martiris.—c.*
21	c	11 Kal.	.
22	d	10 Kal.	Ceciliae virginis et martiris.—d.
23	e	9 Kal.	*Clementis (papae) et martiris* et Felicitatis.—d. Depositio Adae abbatis de Botheby [A.D. 1338]. Et anniversarium domini Johannis de Aysby et magistri Johannis de Harwedone.
24	f	8 Kal.	Grisogoni martiris.—t.
25	g	7 Kal.	*Katerinae virginis et martiris.—a.*
26	A	6 Kal.	.
27	b	5 Kal.	.
28	c	4 Kal.	.
29	d	3 Kal.	Saturnini martiris.—t.
30	e	Prid. Kal.	*Andreae apostoli.*—c. Depositio Brandonis [A.D. 1069] et Willelmi de Watervile [A.D. 1177] abbatum. Et anniversarium Adae de Walkote.

November habet dies xxx. Luna xxx.

Nox habet horas xvi. Dies vii. (*sic*).

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DECEMBRIS.

Septimus exanguis, virosus denus ut anguis.

1	f	Kalendae	Crisanti et Dariae.—t. Commemoracio patrum et matrum et parentum nostrorum benefactorum Elemosinariae Burgi. Abbas missam celebrabit.
2	g	4 Non.	
3	A	3 Non.	Birini episcopi et confessoris.—t.
4	b	Prid. Non.	.
5	c	Nonae	.
6	d	8 Id.	*Nicholai episcopi et confessoris.—a.*
7	e	7 Id.	Oct. sancti Andreae.—d.
8	f	6 Id.	*Conceptio Sanctae Mariae.—c.*
9	g	5 Id.	.
10	A	4 Id.	.
11	b	3 Id.	Damasi ("papae" *erased*).—t. In ebdomada quatuor temporum legenda et facienda est commemoracio specialium debitorum,[a] et habebit missam ferialem cum De profundis.
12	c	Prid. Id.	.
13	d	Idus	*Luciae virginis et martiris.—d.*
14	e	19 Kl. Jan.	.
15	f	18 Kal.	.
16	g	17 Kal.	Barbarae virginis. O *Sapiencia.*
17	A	16 Kal.	.
18	b	15 Kal.	.
19	c	14 Kal.	.
20	d	13 Kal.	. Deposicio Kynsini Archiepiscopi [Ebor. A.D. 1060]. Et anniversarium Radulphi comitis.
21	e	12 Kal.	*Thomae apostoli. Solsticium.—a.*
22	f	11 Kal.	.
23	g	10 Kal.	.
24	A	9 Kal.	.
25	b	8 Kal.	*Nativitas Domini.* Anastasie.—*prin.*
26	c	7 Kal.	Stephani prothomartiris.—c. Deposicio Walteri abbatis [A.D. 1246]. Abbas missam celebrabit.
27	d	6 Kal.	*Johannis apostoli et evangelistae.—c.*
28	e	5 Kal.	Sanctorum Innocencium martirum.—c.
29	f	4 Kal.	*T[homae archiepiscopi martiris* (erased)]—*c.*
30	g	3 Kal.	.
31	A	Pr. Kl. Jan.	Silvestri ("papae" *erased*).—d.

December habet dies xxxi. Luna xxix.
Nox habet horas xviii. Dies vi.

[a] This is one of the quarterly "*commemorationes defunctorum quorum* debitores *sumus per* specialem . . . *societatem*," mentioned in a note on the month of May.

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II.—*On the chief Methods of Construction used in Ancient Rome.* *By* J. Henry Middleton, *F.S.A.*

Read February 24, 1887.

In all times, from the first dawn of the historic period down to modern days, the inhabitants of Rome appear to have been a thoroughly inartistic race; but for many centuries, throughout the whole classic period, they certainly possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the best methods of construction, and were pre-eminently skilful in their use of various materials of all kinds—stone, wood, concrete, and metal. For this reason a careful examination of the many different modes of construction employed in ancient Rome is not only of interest to the student of archaeology, but may also supply many valuable lessons to the architect and engineer of modern days.

Probably no subject has had so much that is misleading written about it as this—partly because in many cases it has been treated by archaeologists who had no practical knowledge of building,—and also because the real methods of construction in ancient Rome are frequently hidden behind very deceptive modes of surface decoration.

For this reason it is necessary to warn the architectural student in Rome to trust little to existing works on the subject, however magnificently illustrated, and to use his own eyes with special care and thoughtfulness.[a]

The methods of building walls in Rome may be classified thus:—

I.—*Opus quadratum*, that is solid hewn stone set either with or without mortar.

II.—*Concrete*, either unfaced or faced.

These two main classes really include the whole systems of building employed in ancient Rome.

[a] The richly illustrated folio volumes of Canina are simply works of imagination; and worse than useless to the real student. Almost the same might be said of the handsome work by Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains.*

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The usual classification, which makes *opus incertum*, *opus reticulatum*, and brick, distinct methods of construction like *opus quadratum*, is wholly misleading, as they are merely used as thin facings to concrete walls.

Strange as it may sound, there is no such thing as a brick wall among the buildings of classical Rome; this will be explained below at greater length.

Opus quadratum in early times was always made of the volcanic tufa, which forms the various hills on which Rome stands. It is a soft brown stone composed of volcanic matter concreted together by age and pressure. It could be quarried almost anywhere in Rome, and was easily cut even by the bronze tools, which were used before the discovery of the art of smelting and forging iron. Fine examples of one of these prehistoric walls exist at several places round the circuit of the Palatine Hill—the so-called "Wall of Romulus"; it was about 10 feet thick, and is built of squared blocks of tufa, varying in length, but all roughly 2 Roman feet thick (*i. e.* about 1 foot 11¾ inches), and averaging 21 inches across the end. (See fig. 1.) They are set without mortar, with closely fitting beds and rather open joints. In many cases the bed is worked hollow, so as to insure the close fit of one block on to the next. Fig. 2 shows a section of this wall, which enclosed the "Roma Quadrata" of the Palatine Hill.

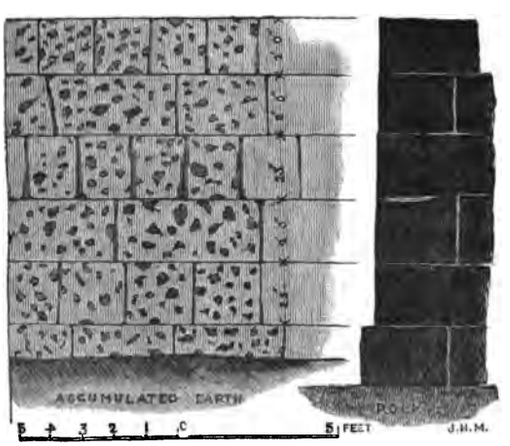


Fig. 1.

Existing piece of the "Wall of Romulus."

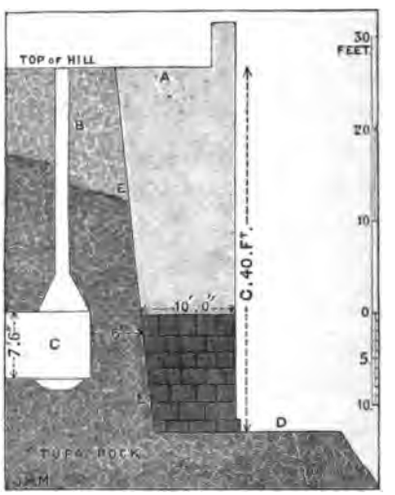


Fig. 2.

Section of primitive wall of Roma Quadrata.

A. Original height of wall.
B. Upper part of cliff, now crumbled away.
C. Cistern cut in the tufa rock.
D. Levelled platform to receive base of wall.
EE. Cliff made steeper by cutting.

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The next stage was the introduction of the harder volcanic stone, now called *peperino*, a name given by the modern masons to two varieties, which were called *lapis Albanus* and *lapis Gabinus*, from their chief quarries (still worked) at Albano and Gabii.

Unlike the tufa this is a good "weather-stone," but it is much harder to work, and did not come into use during the earliest period. The oldest existing example of the use of *peperino* is part of the "agger-wall of Servius Tullius," where it is mixed with blocks of tufa:[a] in other parts of the great circuit "Wall of the Kings" tufa only occurs.

Here again the blocks are cut into the regular 2-feet courses, but vary in length; they are commonly but not always set in alternate courses of headers and stretchers.

An interesting series of masons' marks is very visible on the back of the great agger-wall, where the surface was hidden by the *agger* or bank of earth dug out of the moat (*fossa*), which ran along the foot of the wall externally.

These marks, which average about 12 inches in height (see fig. 3), are deeply cut into the ends of the blocks: a number of examples of the same mark often occur near together suggesting that each batch of stones had its own mark.

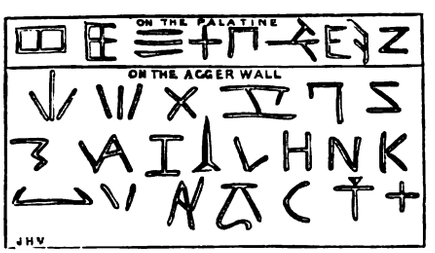


Fig. 3.
Masons' marks on walls of the Regal period.
They are 10 to 14 inches high.

They are mostly letters or monograms, but some few appear to be numerals. Fig. 4 shows a plan and section of the agger and wall.

Throughout the greater part of the "Wall of the Kings" no mortar is used, but one very fine piece of wall on the slope of the Aventine (in the Vigna Torlonia) has all its blocks set in a thin bed of pure lime mortar. This is not the only example that contradicts the usual statement as to the use of mortar being a late introduction in Rome; the same thin skin of lime is to be seen in the masonry of the circular *Tullianum*, a prehistoric well, which afterwards formed the lower dungeon of the "Mamertine prison," one of the oldest existing structures in Rome.

[a] There is no truth in the statement that these tufa blocks were split with wedges: many of them bear distinct marks of chisels from a quarter to half an inch in width. Tufa is not laminated in structure, and a wedge only shatters it to pieces.

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In these cases the layer of lime is only about as thick as stout paper, and is used, not as a binding cement, but merely to make the two stone surfaces fit perfectly together.

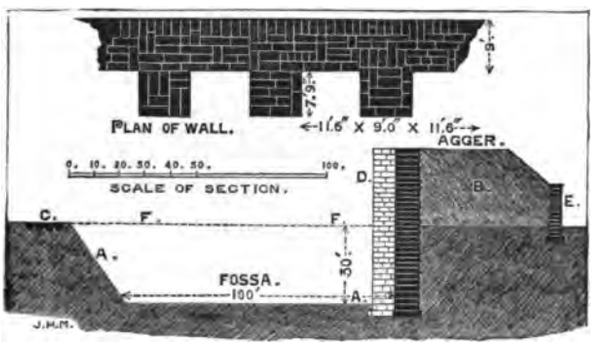


Fig. 4.

Section of Wall and Agger of Servius.

AA. Undisturbed earth of fossa.
B. Earth excavated from the fossa, and heaped up to form the agger.
C. Road at brink of fossa.
D. Wall and buttress.
E. Back retaining-wall of agger.
F. Level to which the fossa was filled up, and built upon during the Empire.

The plan is given to double scale.

In later times, towards the close of the Republic and under the Empire, this was not done, as the beds and joints were rubbed perfectly smooth, so that the junction of two blocks in well preserved examples is almost invisible.[a] Thus the use of mortar in Roman stonework is a sign of early rather than of late date.

In the latter years of the Republic a very neat and regular system of masonry came into use, in which all the blocks were worked with absolute accuracy to the same size, namely, 4 Roman feet long by 2 feet[b] by 2 feet. These were laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, like what is called in modern brickwork "English bond." Each joint at the ends of a stretcher comes exactly over the middle of a header in the course below, and with similar exactness under the middle of the header above.

In the earlier masonry the joints come at quite irregular intervals, owing to the varying lengths of the blocks used, and in the so-called "Wall of Romulus" we sometimes find one joint immediately over another, always a sign of careless or defective workmanship.

[a] A wonderful example of the perfect jointing of *peperino* blocks can be seen in the recently exposed angle of the podium of the Temple of Faustina, near the bottom, where accumulations of earth have preserved the surface ever since its marble lining was torn away. Here the beds and joints are so close as to be imperceptible except with the closest examination.

[b] The Roman foot was about a quarter of an inch shorter than an English foot.

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The use of the harder and more valuable travertine stone (*lapis Tiburtinus*) came in very gradually; it appears to have been very rarely used before the first century B.C.*

Fig. 5, which shows part of the wall of the Capitoline *Tabularium*, built probably in 78 B.C. is a noble example of the very regular peperino masonry just described, and also shows us the sparing way in which travertine was at first used—namely, for arches, piers, and other points of special constructional importance. Here the flat arch over the doorway is built with travertine *voussoirs:* the same stone is used for the Tuscan capitals and entablature of the open colonnade in the upper story of the Tabularium; all the rest of the external masonry is of peperino, while the internal walls, being safe from the action of weather, are built of the cheaper and softer local tufa. It should be observed that in the earlier buildings, where tufa alone was used, it was always coated externally with a hard stucco, which perfectly protected it against the action of weather.

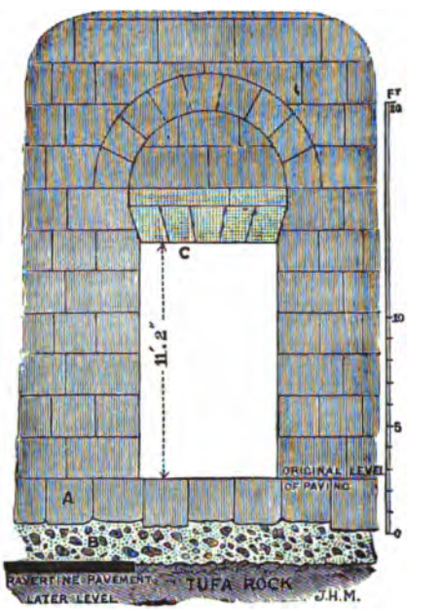


Fig. 5.
Example of Opus Quadratum, 78 B.C.
Arch at foot of the Stairs of the Tabularium.
The flat arch C is of travertine, the rest of peperino.
A. Footing-course of rough stones.
B. Concrete foundation, exposed by the lowering of the paving when the Temple of Vespasian was built. Each block is 4 Roman feet long by 2 wide and 2 thick; a thin stratum of mortar is used.

The pseudo-peripteral temple of Fortuna Virilis (so-called) in the Forum Boarium affords another example of this early sparing use of travertine, which in this case is used for the free columns of the portico, and the engaged columns at the angles of the cella; the other engaged columns being built of tufa like the cella wall. (See fig. 6.) This temple is probably of late Republican date.

Later examples of the same system of using different stones occur in the outer wall of the Forum of Julius Caesar, where the keystones and springers of the arches are of travertine, the rest being of tufa, and in Vespasian's Forum Pacis,

* Mommsen is mistaken in his assertion that travertine is employed in the barrel vault of the Cloaca Maxima: see Middleton, *Ancient Rome in 1885*, p. 76.

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where the existing doorway (opposite the west end of the Basilica of Constantine) is wholly built of travertine, though it is in a peperino wall.

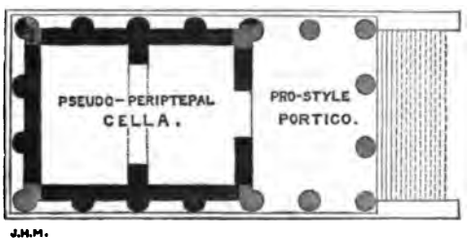


Fig. 6.
So-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
The black shows tufa, the shading travertine.

It should be noticed, as a valuable guide in some cases to the date of a Roman building, that when a wall is partly built of travertine the adjoining blocks of tufa or peperino are no longer worked to the regular 2-ft. courses, but range with the travertine blocks, which are never cut to regular sizes, probably to avoid waste both of labour and material in cutting up the harder and more costly stone.

Fig. 7 shows a very instructive example of the use of travertine piers, built in

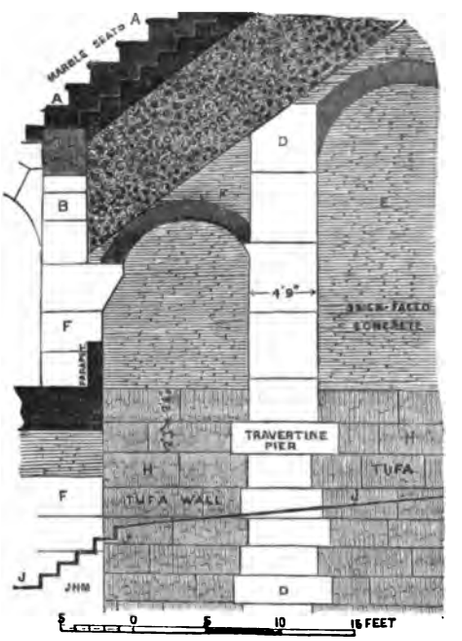


Fig. 7.
Example of construction in which many materials are used.
Upper part of one of the inner radiating walls of the Colosseum.

AA. Marble seats on brick and concrete core, supported on vault made of pumice-stone concrete (C).
B. Travertine arch at end of raking vault (C).
D. One of the travertine piers built in flush with the tufa wall as a point of extra strength.
E. Wall of tufa concrete faced with triangular bricks.
F. Travertine pier at end of radiating wall.
G. Brick-faced arch of concrete to carry floor of passage.
HH. Tufa wall, Opus quadratum.
JJJ. Line of steps in next bay.
KK. Surface arches of brick, too shallow to be of any constructional use, and not meant for ornament, as the whole was stuccoed.

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flush at intervals to increase the strength of a tufa wall. This is done in all the radiating cross walls of the Colosseum.

In this case the irregular tufa courses are arranged to work in with the varying sizes of the travertine blocks; one of the facts which show that the travertine piers are not later insertions, as Mr. J. H. Parker asserted in his work on the Colosseum.

Concrete.—The most striking feature in the construction of the buildings of ancient Rome is the extensive use of concrete for the most varied purposes.

The reason why this material was so largely and so successfully used in Rome was chiefly because immense beds of pozzolana exist over a great part of the area of the Campagna. This substance when mixed with lime has the peculiar property of forming a sort of natural hydraulic cement of the very highest excellence, in strength, hardness, and durability; while its hydraulic properties, or power of setting hard, even under water, are very remarkable.

This mixture of pozzolana and lime was employed for a great variety of purposes, according as it was used alone or mixed with other materials, such as broken bricks or stone; it was equally valuable for stucco to cover walls, or for the rough concrete of foundations.

It is to this remarkable natural product that the great durability of the majority of the buildings of Imperial Rome is due.

A very interesting chapter in Vitruvius' work on *Architecture* (II. vi) is devoted to this *pulvis puteolanus* or pozzolana, which is a volcanic product, and lies in thick strata below and around Rome, just as it was showered down from the now extinct craters in the Alban hills and elsewhere.

The best kind is a dull chocolate red in colour, and resembles a sandy earth mixed with larger lumps about the size of coarse gravel. To make wall-stucco or fine mortar it requires to be passed through a sieve.

The use of concrete dates from a very early period; it is laid in thick beds for the floors of the pre-historic houses of Tiryns and Mycenae, and we also find it used as a backing to the massive "wall of Servius" on the Aventine.

As a foundation it occurs under the Tabularium wall, as shown in fig. 5.

From the first century B.C. onwards it was the chief material used for the walls of buildings in Rome.

The materials of which it is made are often a useful indication of the date of a structure. Till the time of Julius Caesar it is usually made with broken lumps of tufa, though in some cases, under the later Republic, pieces of peperino were

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also used. In all cases the other ingredients are pozzolana, and lime usually made by burning travertine (*lapis Tiburtinus*). Under the Empire, though concrete was still largely made of tufa and peperino, we find broken bricks or travertine frequently employed.

Where foundations of great strength were required below weighty structures the concrete is made with lumps of lava, the *silex* of Vitruvius and Pliny, taken from the great stream of lava which, issuing from the Alban Hills, had, during the post-tertiary period, flowed in a great stream towards the future site of Rome.

The extreme limit of this flood of lava is marked by the celebrated tomb of Caecilia Metella, which stands on its verge.

Another sort of concrete, made not for strength but for lightness, was mixed with lumps of pumice stone; this was used for arched vaults in order to diminish the weight. An example of this is shown in fig. 7. Lastly, in late times concrete was sometimes made with a large admixture of marble or porphyry. This usually marks the destruction of some older building.

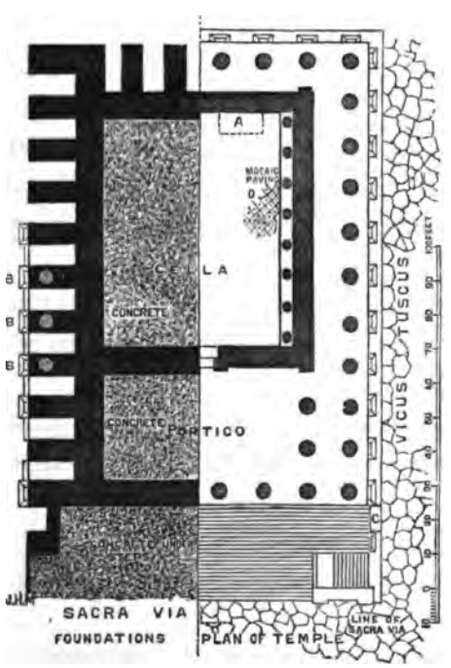


Fig. 8.
Plan of the Temple of Castor.

It appears to have been some time before the Roman builders realised how great was the strength of their concrete; and it was at first used very cautiously, simply to fill up the space under the floors in temples which had solid masonry below their walls and columns.

The temple of Castor in the Forum is a striking example of this. (See fig. 8.)

Here the lofty stylobate is formed of a sort of box made of massive peperino walls; concrete was poured into this up to the level of the cella floor. A projecting spur of solid masonry was built outside the "box" to form a foundation for each column of the peristyle, and the whole of this sub-structure of peperino and concrete was finally concealed by the marble casing of the stylobate. Thus the only weight the concrete had to carry was that of the marble steps and mosaic paving.

A similar system of construction is to be

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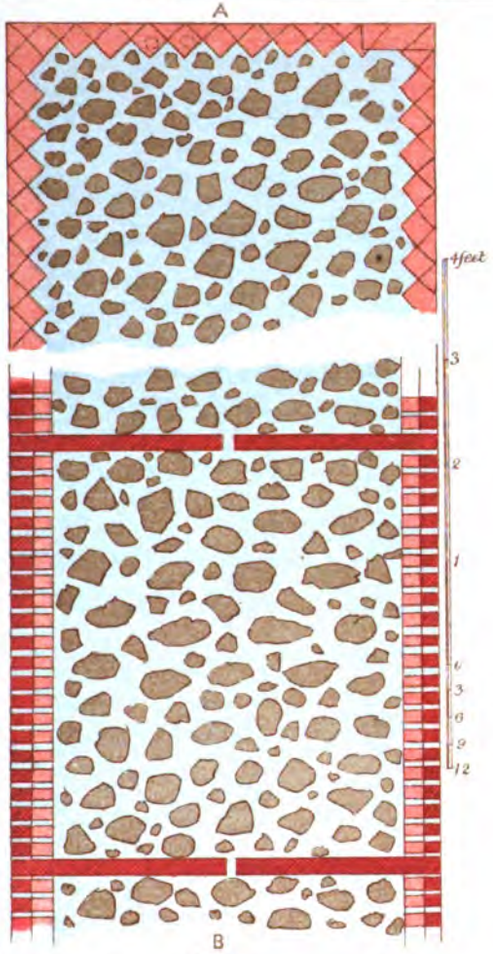


Fig. 3.

A HORIZONTAL SECTION OF A ROMAN WALL, FORMED OF CONCRETE WITH THIN FACING OF BRICK.

B VERTICAL SECTION OF THE SAME.



Fig. 4.

SECTION OF A WALL, WHICH THOUGH ONLY 7 INCHES THICK, IS FACED WITH BRICK ON A CORE OF CONCRETE.

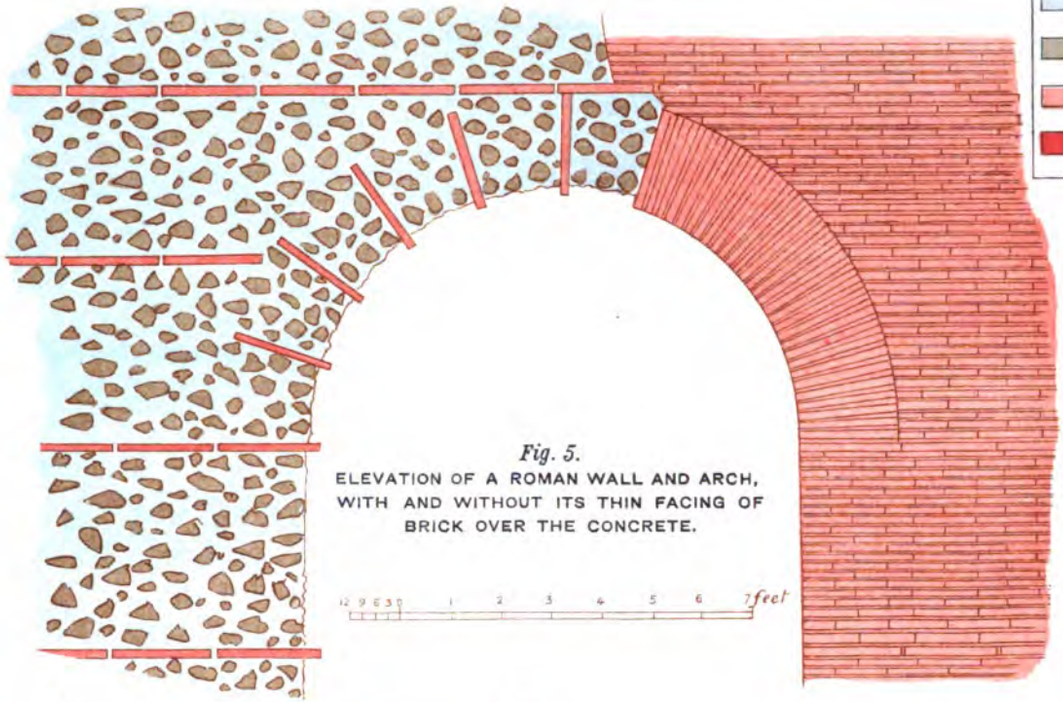


Fig. 5.

ELEVATION OF A ROMAN WALL AND ARCH, WITH AND WITHOUT ITS THIN FACING OF BRICK OVER THE CONCRETE.

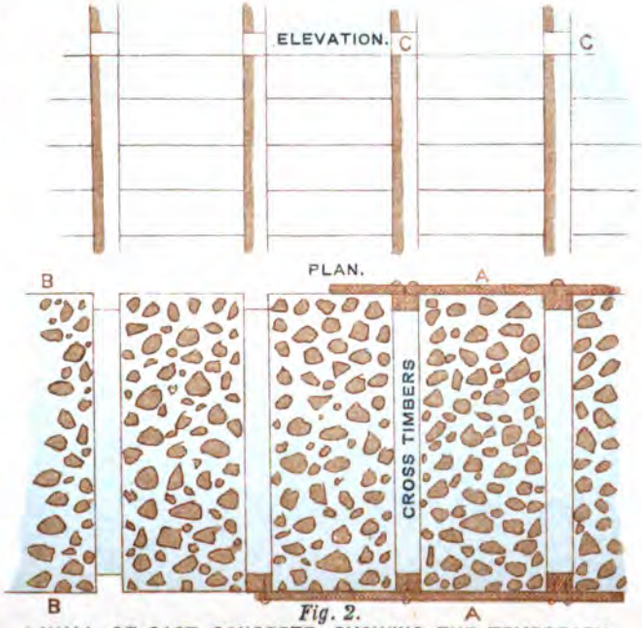


Fig. 2.

WALL OF CAST CONCRETE, SHOWING THE TEMPORARY TIMBER SUPPORTS (FORMÆ.)

A A PART SHOWN WITH THE TIMBER SUPPORTS.

B B PART AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE WOOD FRAMEWORK.

C C HOLES LEFT AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CROSS TIMBERS.

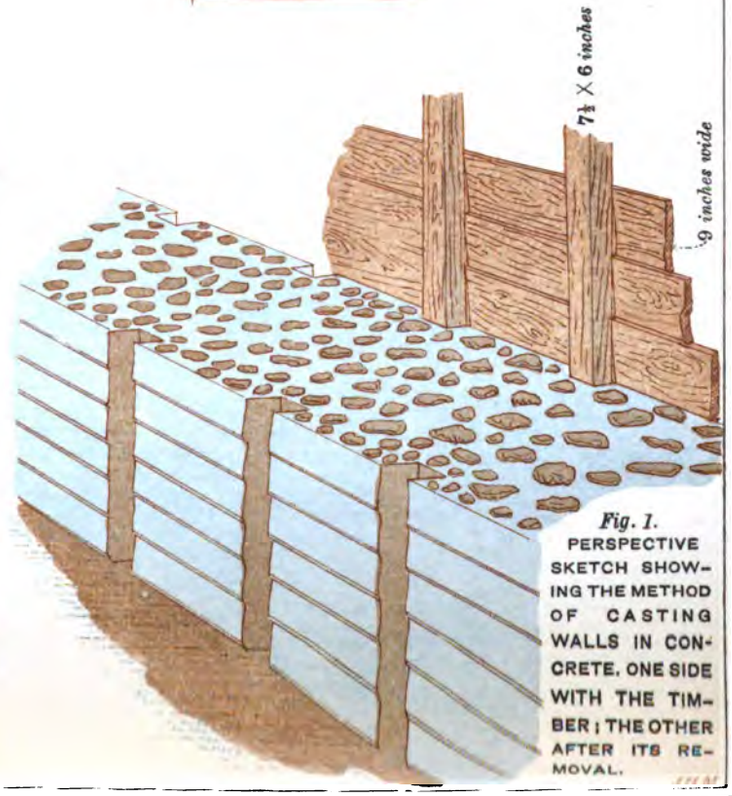


Fig. 1.

PERSPECTIVE SKETCH SHOWING THE METHOD OF CASTING WALLS IN CONCRETE. ONE SIDE WITH THE TIMBER; THE OTHER AFTER ITS REMOVAL.

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seen in the remains of the temples of Saturn, Concord, and Vespasian, at the opposite end of the Forum Romanum.

The next stage was to use concrete for independent walls; and the various methods in which it was employed may be classified thus:

I.—*Concrete unfaced.*

II.—*Concrete faced:*

(A.) With *opus incertum;* second and first centuries B.C.;

(B.) With *opus reticulatum;* first century B.C. to second century A.D.;

(C.) With brick; first century B.C. to end of Western Empire;

(D.) With so-called *opus mixtum;* third century A.D. to end of Western Empire.

The last four sub-classes are arranged in the chronological order of their introduction into use; the unfaced concrete was employed throughout all the periods for special purposes, usually for the walls of foundations and substructures below the more important stories of a building.

The manner in which walls of unfaced concrete were formed was this. (See Plate I. figs. 1 and 2.)

Upright posts 10 to 15 feet high were stuck in the ground along the line of both faces of the future wall at intervals of about 3 feet, and against these posts wooden boards 10 or 11 inches wide were nailed horizontally, overlapping each other; thus a sort of long wooden box was formed, into which the concrete was poured. The wall was in fact *cast*, and on its faces clear imprints were left both of the upright posts and the horizontal boards. It should, however, be noticed that though the main bulk of the concrete was a semi-fluid mass, yet from the regularity at which the larger pieces of stone (like the raisins in a plum cake) appear, it seems that these larger stones were thrown in separately by hand, not poured in at random as was the rest of the mixture.

The hydraulic pressure against the wooden boarding must have been heavy, and in some cases we find a regular series of holes going through the concrete wall, showing where cross-timbers were fixed as ties to keep the boarding in its place till the concrete had set. When the first tier had got sufficiently hard the wooden framework was stripped off it, and refixed as before at the top, and then a second quantity of concrete was thrown in; the whole process being repeated till the wall was formed to the required height.

In most cases the holes through the wall are absent, and the boarding must then have been supported by a series of raking shores or props.

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The upright grooves on the face of the concrete wall caused by the print of the posts were often filled up, after the woodwork was removed, by the insertion of square bricks thickly set in mortar.

In foundations and walls of cellars the grooves were usually left visible.

The finest specimens in Rome of lofty and massive walls of unfaced concrete were those in the gardens of Sallust, part of the great imperial villa which originally belonged to the historian. These noble examples of Roman construction were wholly destroyed in 1884-5 to make room for rows of "jerry-built" houses, which now disfigure what was once one of the most beautiful and interesting parts of Rome. At the same time a long piece of the Servian wall was pulled down, and its massive tufa blocks broken up to make cheap rubble-work in the new speculative houses.

This horrible process of destruction was instructive, as showing how much stronger and more durable a well-made concrete wall is even than the most massive structure of masonry. The great blocks of the Servian wall were easily removed one by one, but the concrete building formed one perfectly coherent mass of great strength, and could only be destroyed in a very laborious way—like that of quarrying stone from its native bed.

This method of using concrete without any facing seems in every way so successful that one cannot help wondering why it was as a rule only used for substructures: the fact, however, remains that in almost all cases the concrete walls of the main part of each building were laboriously faced in one of the methods mentioned in the list above. As the wall-facing, whether of brick or stone, appears almost invariably to have been covered with stucco or marble slabs, the facing cannot have been added for the sake of appearance.

In one respect, and a very important one, the smooth facing was a positive disadvantage: the rough concrete forms the best possible key for the coating of stucco over it, while the smooth *opus reticulatum*, or brick, afforded but little hold to the stucco, and so the whole surface had to be roughened to give the necessary key to the stucco. This was done in a very laborious and costly way by driving large iron nails all over the wall-surface, or else by driving plugs of marble, each about 1 inch square by 2 inches long, into holes drilled into the brick facing. Very often both methods were used together—an iron nail and a marble plug being wedged into the same hole.

In some cases, as in parts of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, a bronze wedge is used to fix each marble plug into its hole.

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In this case, and in many others, this system of plugs is used not to form a key for ornamental painted stucco, but simply to afford a hold for the cement backing behind the marble slabs with which the walls were lined.

In one exceptional case, in the lower part of Hadrian's *exedra* in the Palatine Stadium, rooms decorated with painted stucco are built of the unfaced concrete, and here the stucco still adheres in its place far better than it ever did to the brick-faced walls, in spite of their marble and metal plugs.

We will now consider the different kinds of facing used for concrete walls.

(A.) *Opus incertum.*

This is the oldest kind of concrete facing. Vitruvius (II. viii.) speaks of it and the following class thus " *reticulatum* quo nunc (*i.e.* in the reign of Augustus) omnes utuntur, et antiquum, quod *incertum* dicitur." In forming *opus incertum* the face of the concrete wall was studded with irregular-shaped pieces of tufa, three or four inches across, each having its outer face worked smooth and the inner part roughly pointed. Plate II. fig. 1, shows its usual appearance on the face, and also the manner in which it tails into the concrete. Examples of this, dating probably from the second century B.C., exist in the thick concrete wall at the foot of the "Scalae Caci" on the Palatine, in the Emporium, a series of store-chambers on the banks of the Tiber, near the Aventine, and in some houses built against the Servian wall, near the railway station, now doomed to destruction.

(B.) *Opus reticulatum.*

So called from its resemblance to the meshes of a net. (See Plate II. fig. 2.)

This is similar to *opus incertum*, except that the stones are carefully cut, so as to present a square or lozenge-shaped end, and are fitted very closely one to another. These little blocks of about 3 inches square are arranged so as to run in diagonal lines; the angles of the wall have neatly worked quoins, with the inner end pointed, so as to work in with the small lozenges. (Plate II. fig. 2.) The arches over doors and windows in walls of this class have accurately worked rectangular *voussoirs*, generally about 9 inches long by 3 or 4 inches wide. The effect of this sort of facing is very neat and pretty to look at, but its beauty appears—usually outside a building, and invariably inside—to have been concealed by stucco. The most notable examples in Rome of fine *opus reticulatum* are the "muro torto" built into the wall of Aurelian under the Pincian hill, the so-called "house of Maecenas" on the Esquiline, and the "house of Livia" (or "Germanicus" as it is also called) on the Palatine hill. (Plate II. fig. 2.) All these examples probably date from the time of Augustus.

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Early in the first century A.D. *opus reticulatum* ceased to be used as a facing alone: the arches and angles then began to be faced with brick instead of the neat little tufa voussoirs and quoins, and surface bands of brick, about a foot deep, at intervals of 2 or 3 feet, were introduced, as for example in part of Caligula's palace on the Palatine, facing on to the Nova Via. (See Plate II. fig. 4.)

In some cases the *opus reticulatum* was only used as a sort of large panel in the middle of a brick-faced wall: *e.g.*, in the sub-structures of the Thermae of Titus, over the golden house of Nero. Hadrian's villa near Tivoli supplies one of the latest examples of this mixed use of *opus reticulatum* and brick facing.

It should be observed that in Rome *opus reticulatum* is always made with the local tufa. A few miles from Rome, in tombs on the Via Appia, peperino and lava are both used, but only at places where these materials were close at hand.

In all cases, however, the use of *opus reticulatum* alone—that is, unmixed with bands or quoins of brick—appears to be an indication that the structure is not later than the first half-century or so of the empire.

(c.) Concrete faced with brick.

Till the first century B.C. only unburnt bricks appear to have been used in Rome, and no example of brick earlier than the time of Julius Caesar is now to be seen in the city. Strange to say, the remarks of Vitruvius on the subject of bricks for walls do not apply to any which now exist in Rome, as he only mentions rectangular bricks, while those used in existing walls are invariably triangular in shape.

It is most probable that he is referring to *lateres crudi*, sun-baked bricks, of which no example in Rome now remains, though they must once have been very common.

These un-fired bricks lasted perfectly well as long as they were covered with stucco to protect them from the rain, but when once the roof was gone, and the stucco began to fall off, the process of decay would be very rapid and complete. Recent discoveries have shown that this system of building with sun-baked bricks (like the modern Mexican *adobes*) was very common among the Greeks for many centuries: for example, the great wall round Athens, which was destroyed by Sulla, appears to have chiefly consisted of un-baked bricks, the lower part only being of stone. The same is the case in the pre-historic houses of Hissarlik, Mycenae, and Tiryns.

The most important point to notice about the use of burnt bricks in Rome is that (in walls) they are only used as a thin facing for concrete, and in no case

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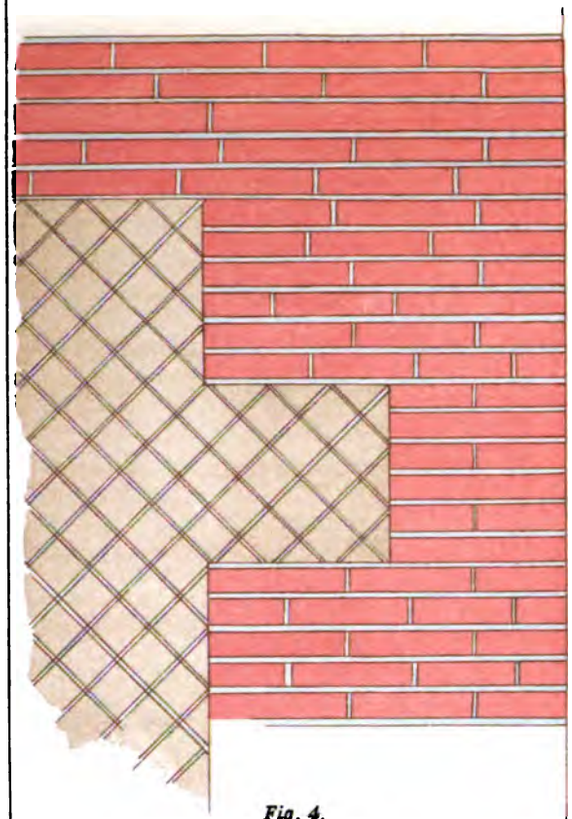


Fig. 4.
ELEVATION OF CONCRETE WALL, FACED PARTLY WITH OPUS RETICULATUM AND PARTLY WITH BRICK. FROM THE PALACE OF CALIGULA.

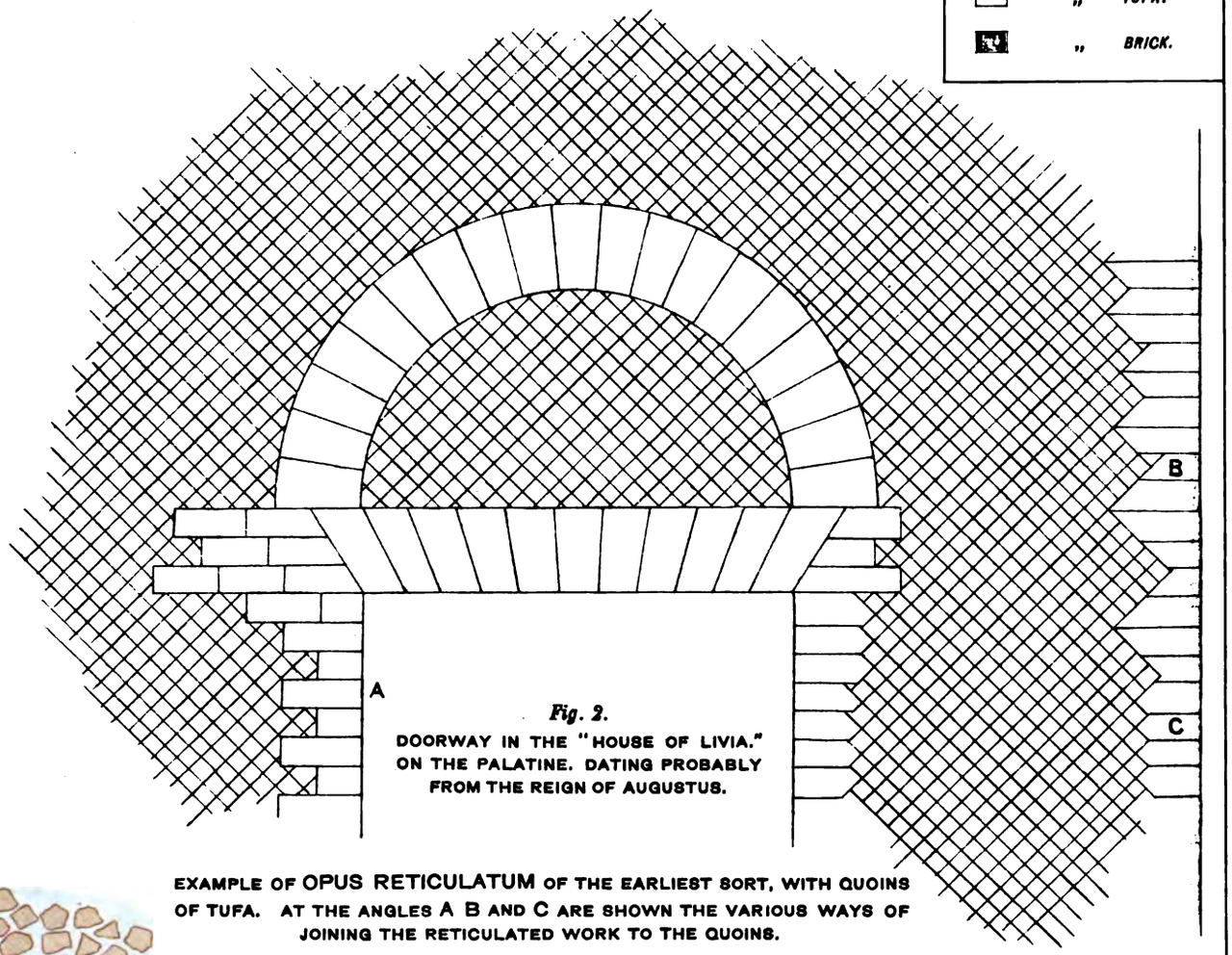


Fig. 2.
DOORWAY IN THE "HOUSE OF LIVIA." ON THE PALATINE. DATING PROBABLY FROM THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.

EXAMPLE OF OPUS RETICULATUM OF THE EARLIEST SORT, WITH QUOINS OF TUFA. AT THE ANGLES A B AND C ARE SHOWN THE VARIOUS WAYS OF JOINING THE RETICULATED WORK TO THE QUOINS.

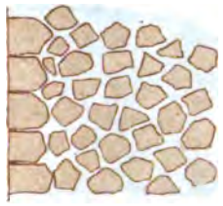


Fig. 1.
EXAMPLE OF OPUS INCERTUM FROM THE PALATINE, NEAR THE SCALÆ CACI. 1ST CENTURY B.C.

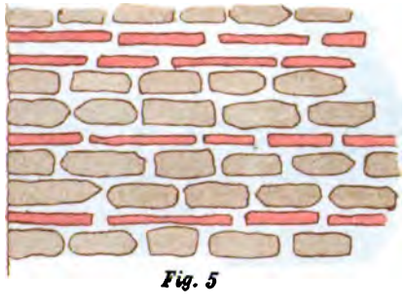


Fig. 5
EXAMPLE OF OPUS MIXTUM. C. 500 A.D. FROM THEODORIC'S ADDITIONS TO THE STADIUM ON THE PALATINE. EARLIEST EXAMPLES DATE ABOUT 300 A.D.

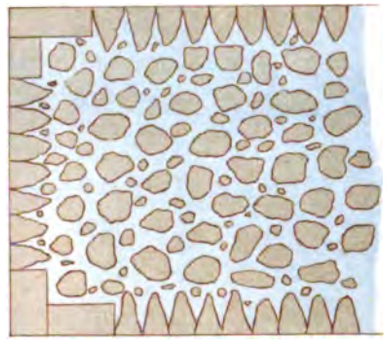


Fig. 3.
HORIZONTAL SECTION, SHOWING THE FACING OF OPUS RETICULATUM ON THE CONCRETE CORE.

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is a wall formed of solid brickwork.[a] The shape of these bricks is always triangular (see Plate I. fig. 3), probably for the sake of getting a good bond into the concrete behind. So universal is this rule as to walls in Rome not being solidly built of brick, that even thin party-walls of small rooms, sometimes only 7 inches thick, are not built solid, but have an inner core of concrete faced by small brick triangles. (See Plate I. fig. 4.)

This elaborate construction for so thin a wall must have caused an extraordinary waste of labour.

It is difficult at first to realise while looking at the immense surfaces of fine brickwork among the remains of ancient Rome that all these walls are really formed of concrete, and that the brick is but a thin facing tailing into the wall an average depth of 4 or 5 inches only; yet such really is the case.

It is evident that during the formation of these walls the brick facing, which was so insignificant a part of the whole thickness of the wall, could not have supported the hydraulic pressure of the soft concrete.

It was, therefore, necessary to support the outside brick skin with a system of wooden framing like that used for the unfaced concrete. In most cases the brick facing has prevented any imprint of the framing from being left, but in some cases, as, *e.g.* in the golden house of Nero, under the Thermae of Titus, the channels caused by the upright posts are clearly visible. These upright grooves on the face of the wall are about 6 inches wide by 4 inches deep, and they were afterwards filled up by the insertion of little rectangular bricks so as to make a smooth, unbroken surface for the plastering.

In addition to the facing of triangular bricks, we find in most cases single courses of large tiles (*tegulae bipedales*) about 1 foot 11 inches square, introduced at regular intervals of from 3 feet to 5 feet, passing through the whole thickness of the wall (see fig. 9).

As bonding courses these tiles seem to be quite useless, because the concrete itself sets into a perfectly coherent, rock-like mass.

If anything they were points of weakness, and in fallen walls one often finds that a breakage has occurred far more readily along a course of tiles than in the mass of the concrete itself. It is, however, possible that they were useful as

[a] The tops of old walls in Rome are now often protected by a covering of square bricks made to look like old ones, and this gives the wall a delusive appearance of being formed of solid brickwork.

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bond for a short time after the wall was formed, as long as the concrete remained unset.

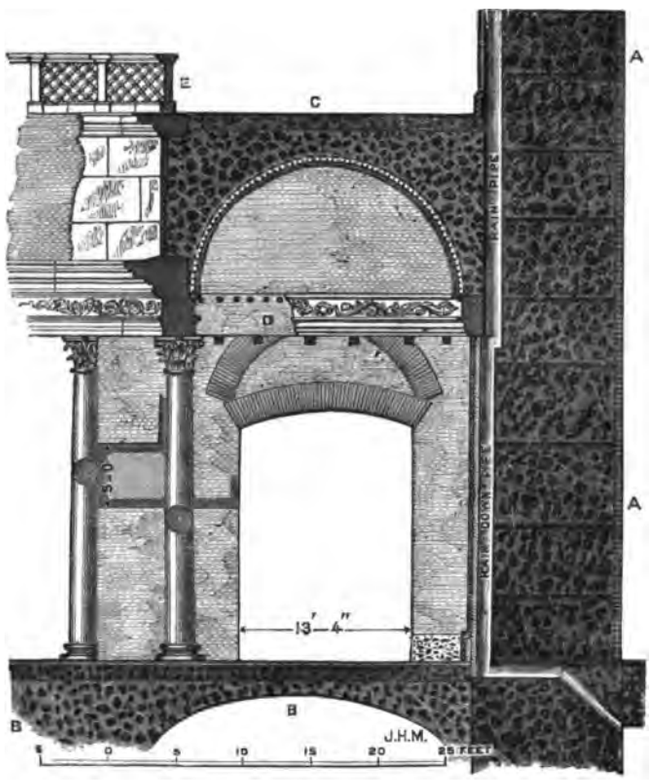


Fig. 9.

Baths of Caracalla. Section through the peristyle.

In the same way the arches which occur in the brick facing are only skin-deep, and can be of no real constructional use. That the Roman builders did not regard them as being constructionally important is shown by the fact that they often omitted the upper portion of a "relieving" arch; as, for example, at D in fig. 9, the brick surface-arch is omitted where the marble frieze came in front of it, though the lower part, which was equally hidden by a marble lining, was put in.

In these facing-arches most of the bricks used are only narrow slips, tailing into the concrete about 4 inches, but at intervals whole square tiles occur. (See Plate I. fig. 5.)

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A conspicuous example of the insertion of these apparently useless arches in brick facing occurs in the walls of the Pantheon, built in 27 B.C. All round the building tiers of these arches appear, and judging from their external appearance they concentrate the weight of the walls on to certain points.

But the real fact is, that while the whole mass of the wall is of concrete nearly 20 feet thick, the brick facing, including the arches, only tails into the walls to an average depth of 5 or 6 inches, so that in reality these apparent relieving arches are of little more use (as regards the pressure) than if they were painted on the surface. The fact that the Pantheon brickwork is a mere skin on the massive concrete wall was clearly shown in 1882 during the removal of the modern houses which had been built against the back of the Pantheon. At many points deep cuttings into the walls showed the real construction to be like that of the other brick and concrete buildings in ancient Rome, namely, that the bulk of the wall was solid concrete.

The result of this system of concrete building was a far superior permanence and durability of structure than could ever have been gained by true brick-work or masonry.

In some cases a wall remains hanging (as it were) in the air when its lower part has been cut away.

A very striking example of this is to be seen in the Thermae of Caracalla, at a place where a brick-faced concrete wall originally rested on a marble entablature supported by two granite columns. In the sixteenth century the columns and the marble over them were removed for use in other buildings, and yet the wall above them remains hanging like a curtain from the concrete vault over head.

Another remarkable instance exists in the basilica of Constantine, where the column which was under the springing of part of the vault of the great hall has been removed,[a] and yet an enormous mass of concrete vault remains, with no support under it, simply adhering laterally to the top of the wall.

In other cases stairs of concrete exist with none but a lateral support, as, for example, on the Palatine hill near the south-west angle of the "Wall of Romulus." Countless other examples can be seen which show the extraordinary advantages of this method of construction.

Concrete Vaults.—The Roman use of concrete for vaults was even more

[a] This column now stands in the piazza at the east end of S. Maria Maggiore, forming the pedestal of a very poor statue of the Virgin.

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striking and more daring than their use of it for walls, and had a very important effect upon the general forms adopted by the Roman architects under the Empire.

As the use of buttresses had not been systematised, it would have been impossible for the Romans to build and vault their enormous spans if they had used vaulting of brick or masonry, such as were built in medieval times. The Roman concrete vault was quite devoid of any lateral thrust, and carried its space with the rigidity of a metal lid. Such vaults as those over the chief halls of the great Thermae would at once have pushed out their supporting walls if a true arched construction had been used. But by using the form without the principle of the arch these apparently daring structures stood with perfect safety. It is true that in many cases, such as the Basilica of Constantine, and the Thermae of Caracalla and Diocletian, brick arches are embedded in the concrete vaults at various points, especially at the intersection of two vaults, but, just as in the brick facing of the walls these arches are merely superficial, and only tail a few inches into the mass of concrete vault, which very frequently is as much as 6 feet thick.

The elaborate drawings published by Fergusson and Choisy in their treatises on Roman construction are wholly misleading from their not recognizing the superficial character of these brick arches in the concrete vaults.

Most serious catastrophes would have occurred if the Romans had really built in the way suggested by these writers.

An example of this on a smaller scale is shown above in fig. 9, where the vault c, over the peristyle walk of Caracalla's Thermae, has no cross-tie at its springing, although one side simply rests on a row of marble columns, which would at once have been pushed outward if the vault above them had been a true arch.

As mentioned above, the concrete for these vaults is frequently made of the very light pumice stone; but when an upper floor rested on the vault, a bed of concrete made with hard stone, about a foot or more thick, was laid to form a level surface for the cement *nucleus* of the mosaic or marble floor: see c in fig. 9.

Wooden centering of immense size and strength must have been required to receive the mass of concrete required for the vaults of the large halls; and great mechanical skill and ingenuity were, no doubt, displayed in the construction of these enormous timber framings. Prints left on the surface of existing vaults show various methods of covering the extrados of the centering, so that the semi-

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fluid concrete should not fall through: in the ambulatories of the Colosseum we see the print of wooden boards about 10 inches wide. In the sub-vaults of Constantine's basilica the impress of a sort of thatch of reeds is left.

In parts of the Thermae of Caracalla, and elsewhere, small square tiles were laid flat over the top of the centering; when the centering was removed these tiles remained firmly attached to the soffit of the concrete vault, and were finally covered by a coat of ornamental stucco.

In the second and third century A.D. the Roman builders having learnt by experience how very strong a substance their concrete was, used it in some cases in the most strikingly daring way. For example, in the upper part of the palace of Severus on the Palatine, we find hollow hypocaust floors of concrete unsupported by any of the usual *pilae* or short brick pillars. These floors consist simply of a large flat slab of concrete, about 14 inches thick, which has no support except from the adherence of its edges to the walls of the room. Even in upper floors this was done, as, for example, in the house of the Vestals (see *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIX. p. 402), where a room in the first floor, over the ground floor bath-room, had its floor formed by a flat slab of concrete, with a bearing of more than 20 feet, only supported by a row of small stone corbels along its edges. In these cases the whole concrete floor is treated exactly as if it were one solid slab of stone.

Plate III. shows hypocausts in the Thermae of Caracalla, in which both methods of forming the *suspensurae* on hollow floors are shown—one after the older fashion with *pilae*, the other quite unsupported except at the edge.

This section also shows two methods of heating: one, employed for the hottest rooms, has not only the hot air under the floor, but also a lining of flue-tiles covering the whole surface of the wall (see DD); the other system was used for *tepidaria;* in this the hot air and smoke from under the hypocaust is carried up to the roof in one circular flue-pipe deeply bedded in the concrete wall; in which case the walls of the chamber would be cool, and the only heat supplied from the warmth of the hollow floor.

It should be noticed that these very daring methods of using concrete seem only to have been adopted by the Romans in Italy, where they could get the pozzolana, on which the immense coherence of the concrete depended.

In other places, such as Gaul and Britain, they had to use the weaker local materials, and here we never find the hypocausts unsupported by *pilae*, or upper floors formed of flat slabs of concrete.

To return to the brick facing; the most valuable indications of the date of

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Roman buildings is given by the size and quality of the triangular facing bricks and the thickness of the joints.

And here it may be noted that Mr. J. H. Parker's rule, that "the more courses of brick there are to a vertical foot the earlier the date of the brickwork," is wholly fallacious.

The fact is that as time went on while the bricks got thinner the joints got thicker; so a wall of the time of Severus may have the same number of courses to a foot as one of two centuries earlier.

The following table gives some typical examples of different dates, beginning with what appears to be the earliest existing specimens of brickwork in Rome:

	Date.	Average thickness of bricks.	Average thickness of mortar joints.
		Inches.	Inches.
Rostra of Julius Caesar	44 B.C.	1½	¼
Pantheon of Agrippa	27 B.C.	1½	⅜ to ½
Praetorian Camp of Tiberius . . .	23 A.D.	1¼ to 1¾	¼ to ½
Aqueduct of Nero	c. 62 A.D.	1 to 1¼	⅜ to ½
Thermae of Titus	80 A.D.	1½	½
Palace of Domitian	c. 90 A.D.		
Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome .	c. 125 A.D.	1½	1
Palace of Severus	c. 200 A.D.	1	¾
Aurelian's walls round Rome . . .	c. 271 A.D.	1¼ to 1¾	1¼ to 1½

It will thus be seen that the thickness of the mortar joints must be noted as carefully as the thickness of the bricks, in order to arrive at any safe conclusion as to date.

These examples are selected from the common kinds of brick facing, but it should be observed that in those rare cases where the brickwork was not covered by stucco or marble thinner bricks and finer joints were used.[a]

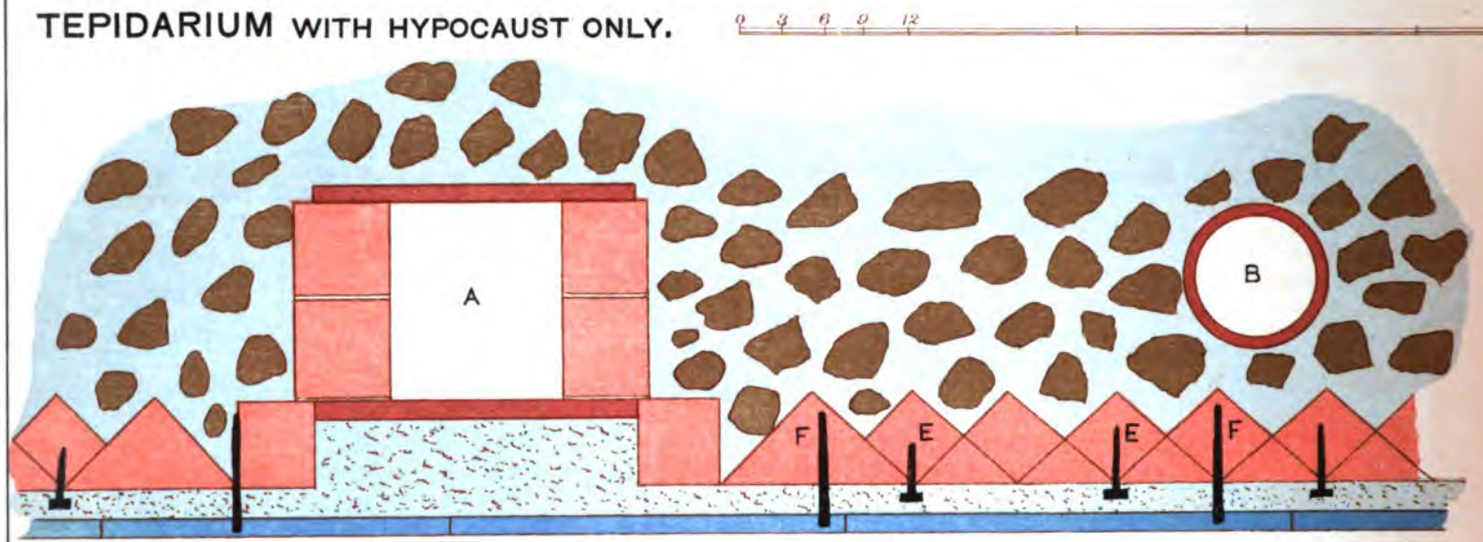
As a rule the brickwork under each emperor was very uniform in appearance; but, at least in one case, namely, in part of the golden house of Nero, extraordinary varieties of brickwork occur in the same building.

[a] As for example in Nero's Aqueduct for the Aqua Claudia, and in the great hemi-cycle of shops in Trajan's Forum.

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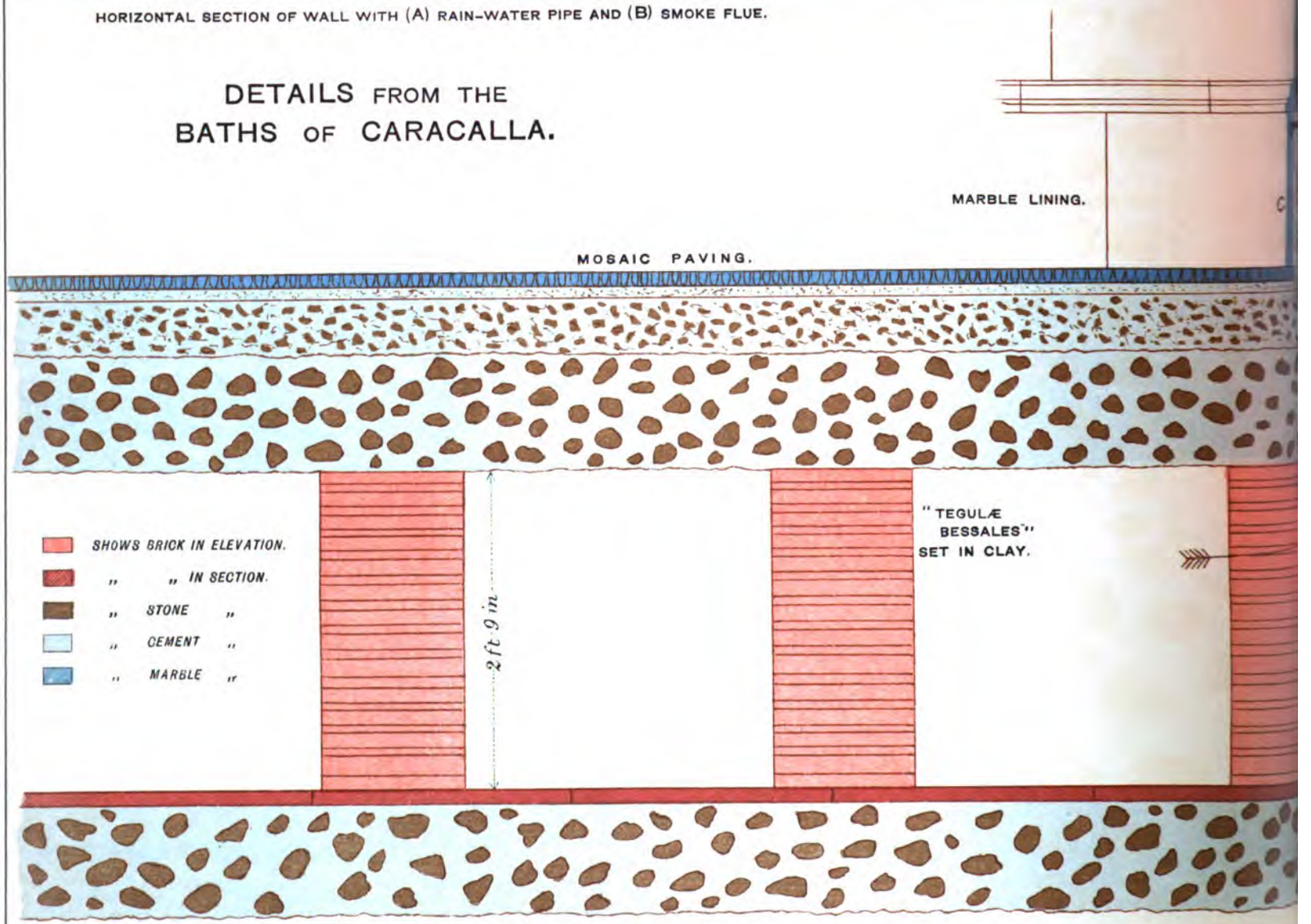
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TEPIDARIUM WITH HYPOCAUST ONLY.



HORIZONTAL SECTION OF WALL WITH (A) RAIN-WATER PIPE AND (B) SMOKE FLUE.

DETAILS FROM THE BATHS OF CARACALLA.

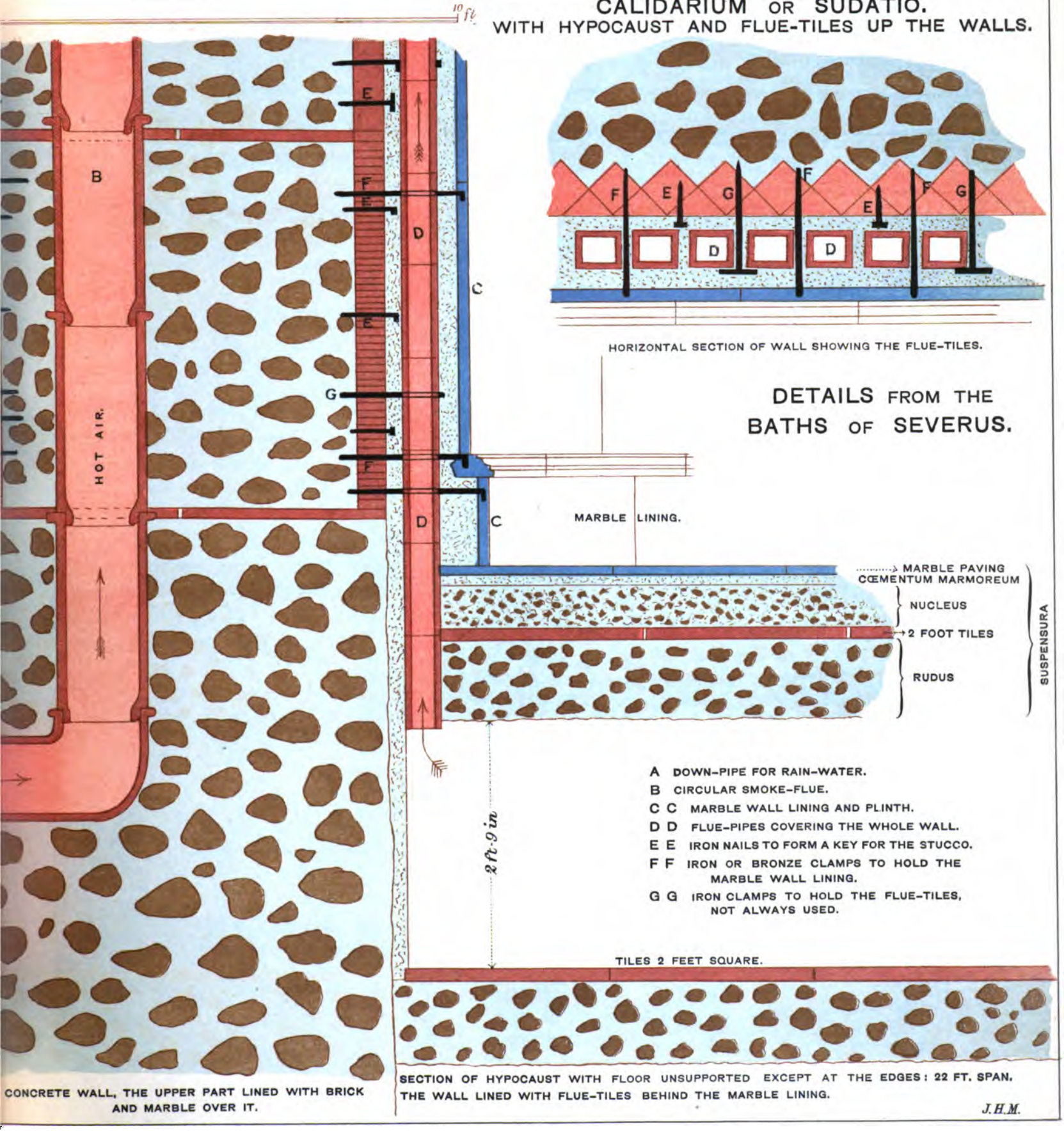


SECTION OF HYPOCAUST WITH THE FLOOR (SUSPENSURA) SUPPORTED BY BRICK PILLARS (PILÆ), AND FLUE OF CIRCULAR PIPES TO CARRY OFF THE SMOKE.

W. GRIGGS, Photo-lith

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CALIDARIUM OR SUDATIO.
WITH HYPOCAUST AND FLUE-TILES UP THE WALLS.



HORIZONTAL SECTION OF WALL SHOWING THE FLUE-TILES.

DETAILS FROM THE BATHS OF SEVERUS.

A DOWN-PIPE FOR RAIN-WATER.
B CIRCULAR SMOKE-FLUE.
C C MARBLE WALL LINING AND PLINTH.
D D FLUE-PIPES COVERING THE WHOLE WALL.
E E IRON NAILS TO FORM A KEY FOR THE STUCCO.
F F IRON OR BRONZE CLAMPS TO HOLD THE MARBLE WALL LINING.
G G IRON CLAMPS TO HOLD THE FLUE-TILES, NOT ALWAYS USED.

CONCRETE WALL, THE UPPER PART LINED WITH BRICK AND MARBLE OVER IT.

SECTION OF HYPOCAUST WITH FLOOR UNSUPPORTED EXCEPT AT THE EDGES: 22 FT. SPAN. THE WALL LINED WITH FLUE-TILES BEHIND THE MARBLE LINING.

J.H.M.

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One and a-half inches is the usual limit of thickness of a brick in Rome, but in one part of Nero's palace some bricks occur as much as 2½ inches thick, mixed up with those of the common size.

The length of bricks as they appear in a wall-face is little or no guide to date, owing to the fact that many of the sharp points of the triangles were broken off before the bricks were used—a thing very easily done in the process of loading and unloading. Thus in all Roman brickwork the visible lengths vary very much, according as more or less of the points was broken off.

(D.) Facing of *opus mixtum*. (See Plate II. fig. 5.)

This is a modern term used for a variety of concrete facing, which did not come into use till the close of the third century A.D.; the usual facing of triangular bricks, in this sort of work, is varied by bands at regular intervals of small rectangular blocks of tufa, about 10 inches long by 4 deep, and tailing 3 to 5 inches into the concrete backing.

The earliest existing example is to be seen in the outer wall of the circus of Maxentius, built about 310 A.D. by the emperor in memory of his deified son Romulus.

It also occurs in the latest alterations of the Flavian Palace, and in the Stadium on the Palatine, both probably executed c. 500 A.D. in the time of Theodoric, after whose reign, during some centuries, the destruction of existing buildings, rather than the erection of new ones, occupied the degenerate inhabitants of ancient Rome.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE III.

Plate III. shows the details of the construction of the walls and hypocausts in the Thermae of Caracalla and the Palace of Severus.

The vertical section gives part of one of the walls formed of concrete with a facing of triangular bricks above the floor line; below the floors the concrete is unfaced, and the single courses of large tiles, which occur at regular intervals above, are omitted in the lower part of the walls.

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Outside the brick facing is the lining of marble slabs (C, C), with a backing of cement; the key for which is formed by iron nails driven into the joints at irregular intervals (E, E). Long iron or bronze clamps, in some cases run with lead, fix the marble slabs in their places (F, F).

On the left-hand side is shown the section of a *tepidarium*, only warmed by the hypocaust, which, in this case, is supported by brick *pilae*.

The smoke from under the *suspensura* is carried away by a large circular clay pipe (B, B) with carefully rebated joints, embedded in the concrete wall.

A square rain-water down pipe (A) is also shown.

The section of the *suspensura*, or "hanging floor," shows the different kinds of concrete and cement of which it is formed. First, the *rudus* or rough concrete with large pieces of stone; second, the *nucleus*, a finer sort of concrete made of smaller fragments of stone or brick; and lastly, the very fine cement bedding of the mosaic *tesserae*, or the paving slabs, made of a mixture of lime and minutely pounded white marble.

On the right-hand side is shown the method of warming the hottest room, the *calidarium* or *sudatio*. In this case it happens that the *suspensura* has no *pilae* to support it. This special example is taken from the Palace of Severus, as being more perfectly preserved than any in the Thermae of Caracalla.

In addition to the heat given from the hollow of the hypocaust, the whole wall-surface is lined with rectangular clay pipes (D, D), through which the hot air and smoke from below made its escape. These pipes are bedded in the thick cement backing behind the marble wall lining; and some of them are firmly fixed by large T shaped iron clamps (G, G).

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III.—*Inventory of the parish church of St. Mary, Scarborough, 1434; and that of the White Friars or Carmelites of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1538.* *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A.*

Read June 9, 1887.

A short time ago our Fellow the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. communicated to the Society two most valuable inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London. Though the contents of a parish church, and of a house of friars, cannot be expected to compete in richness with a wealthy foundation like St. Paul's, the two inventories forming the subject of this paper are by no means without interest, although they were respectively drawn up for such strangely opposite purposes—the one for conservation, the other for spoliation.

I.—*Inventory of St. Mary's, Scarborough, 1434.*

The early history of St. Mary's church, Scarborough, is somewhat obscure, and the first authentic information about it relates to its gift by Richard I. in 1198 to the abbey of Citeaux, in Burgundy, of which house it is usually spoken of as a cell, the appointment of the vicar being vested in the abbot and convent. In 1406–7 the possessions of the abbey in England were seized by the king as being alien, and the church of Scarborough was granted to the prior and convent of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, with whom it remained till the suppression of the monasteries.

Before the grant to the Cistercians the church seems to have been a fine

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cruciform building with a nave and aisles of seven bays and a central and two western towers. After the Cistercians came here, it is probable that the church was divided, the western half being retained by the parishioners, while the choir was appropriated by the Cistercians for their own services. That this was the case seems to be proved by the singular way in which the church was enlarged during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the thirteenth century the nave was rebuilt; and during the fourteenth century the transepts were reconstructed, a wide second aisle was added on the north, and one large and three small chapels built out on the south side of the south aisle. It will be noticed that these alterations pertain only to the parochial half of the church, and that the conventual choir remained intact. What the plan of the latter was is unknown, as it was rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, probably by the canons of Bridlington. It was five bays long, with aisles of the same length, but is said to have been ruined during the Civil War and never rebuilt. It is possible that, like many other divided churches, the conventual half was disused or ruined at the suppression of the monasteries, and that only its final destruction occurred during the Civil War.

Among the muniments belonging to the Corporation of Scarborough is a large volume known as the Vellum Book, containing transcripts of the various charters and other important documents relating to the town. Amongst the latter is a very interesting inventory of the jewels and ornaments in St. Mary's church, belonging to the parish altar. It is in Latin, and commences with a memorandum "that the bailiffs and commonalty of the vill of Scarborough delivered to John Langton, proctor of the church of the Blessed Mary of Scarborough, their goods underwritten belonging to the aforesaid church, to be kept to the use of the bailiff and commonalty aforesaid, on the 20th day of October, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry the sixth after the Conquest."

The month of October, in 13 Henry VI. was in the year 1434; this inventory is therefore an exceptionally early one of the contents of a parish church. It is divided into two parts; the first enumerating vestments, plate, and books which had been some time in the possession of the parish; the second containing a list of ornaments "bought anew."

The inventory commences with a list of vestments.

Of whole suits there were nine; two were white, one was of blue woven with peacocks, two others were respectively green and of gilt cloth, and a sixth was of red woven with white pigs. Each of these had one or more copes of the same suit.

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The other three suits are of especial interest, because we are told when they were worn. One was of red striped or "rayed" stuff for Sundays; another was of blue for offices of the dead; and the third, also for offices of the dead, was black with three copes of the same suit, while the red and blue suits had only one cope each. The alternative use of blue and black is interesting. I have elsewhere found instances of green and purple being used for offices of the dead.

Besides the whole suits there was a vestment of gilt cloth for feasts of nine lessons and commemorations; one other plain (*simplex*) vestment for ferial days, and two white vestments for Lent.

The list of vestments concludes with a cope called "Galon cope," and two others worn out. The Galon cope was probably the gift of Robert Galon, of Scarborough, burgess, who founded the chantry of St. James in 1380, and died in 1391.

After the enumeration of the vestments we come to a long list of plate, etc. preceded by the entry

"Pro summo altari ecclesie predicte."

As no other altar is mentioned in the inventory it is clear that the high (*i.e.* the parish) altar was the only one which the burgesses were interested in, the various chantry altars being otherwise provided for.

The altar furniture included twelve altar cloths, six frontals, five corporals with cases for four of them, four palls, six cushions, four white curtains of linen cloth for Lent, etc.

Amongst the plate were four parcel-gilt chalices and patens weighing respectively 31, 20, 16, and 5 ounces; one parcel-gilt and three other paxes: one pair of parcel-gilt censers with a silver ship and spoon; two silver candelabra, and a pair of silver cruets. There were also in baser metal an incense ship of copper; four cruets of alloy (*electrum*); a second pair of candelabra, but made of brass (*de auricalco*); and two chrismatories, one of copper, the other of wood painted. Two crosses, one of gilt copper, with the shafts belonging to them, are also mentioned; one probably stood on the altar, and the other was for processions. Against Lent there were provided a cover for the cross, a veil to draw athwart the choir, and another veil *pro summa Cruce*, which probably means for the great rood.

To the ornaments in the less precious metals must be added six sconces for candles; a candelabrum of latten with two flowers, probably the paschal; and two great copper candelabra that stood before the high altar.

Amongst miscellaneous articles were nine "sensyng amyces," and eight vestments for boys serving at the altar; a towel or napkin of white silk, doubtless for

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the offertory; two linen towels embroidered for the chrismatory; a towel for weddings; two cloths of rayed silk for the Easter sepulchre; five towels for the lavatory; six "howselyng towellis;" six cushions for the vicar and deacons; and a carpet lying before the altar.

The parish was well off for service books, etc.

Two *missalia* or mass-books, and a book called "le Pistelbooke," are mentioned amongst the high altar furniture; but further on is a separate list of no less than fifty-six books. The first of these was a great book called a Coucher, lying before the vicar in the choir; we are also told that two antiphonars and two portoses lay on the south side of the choir, and seven other antiphonars lay on the opposite side. All these were used for the hour-services, together with four Psalters, four legends old and new, a collectar, an antiphonar "Scoticum," a new book of hymns, and a "Venite boke." For procession services the church had eight processionars, and, besides the altar service books already named, there were six grayles, a tropar, and a "Gospellar." Amongst the miscellaneous books were a *martilogium*, two ordinals, a *mortuarium*, a new "byble," a "Huguycion" (*i.e.* the *vocabularium* of Hugutio of Pisa), a glossed psalter, and a psalter of Richard of Hampole, a "vers boke," and three treatises. After the list of books are some further entries of ornaments: two "doceres" and four "coverlides;" and two lanterns, and two little bells for carrying before the Sacrament; also a cloth of green silk given to the church by the lady de Mauley. This was Matilda, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and wife of Peter de Mauley, the eighth of that name, who died in 1414, leaving to his widow all his lands and tenements in Scarborough. Lady de Mauley married again, and died in 1438.

The first part of this inventory concludes with a list specifying the silver plate already enumerated, and the weights. It contains one item not mentioned elsewhere: a cup of silver and gilt with a piece of silver within, in which was placed the Sacrament of the Altar; in other words it was a pyx. It weighed 2 lbs. 8 oz. and the weight of a noble Troy.

The second part of the inventory begins with a memorandum "that the vestments and jewels underwritten, newly bought by the commonalty, were delivered to the procurator of the aforesaid church by the said bailiffs to be safely and securely kept within the rectory to the use of the commonalty."

The new vestments comprised a whole suit of gilt cloth of green silk woven with gold dogs, consisting of three copes, one chasuble, and two tunicles, with the fanons, stoles, and apparels belonging, the cost of which was 43*l.*[a]; an altar-cloth

[a] It is interesting to note that the best vestment was green in colour.

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to hang before the high altar, with a frontal, both of the same cloth as the suit of vestments; two curtains and an altar cloth of green silk beaten with gold; a new vestment with a cope of gilt silk; two frontals to the altar, one of gilt cloth, the other of bustian; a linen cloth bordered with red silk for the sepulchre; and a linen towel containing eight ells *ad communicationem*. To these must be added a bed with a tapet of red worsted embroidered with lions, and a red ark or chest, whether for offerings, like those at Beverley, York, and Rochester, or to contain the vestments or plate, is not stated. The new plate included a cross-staff of silver and two silver basons, the latter weighing 3 lbs. 1½ oz.; two pair of censers worth 10*l*., and weighing 3 lbs. 2½ oz. each pair; a "holy-water ffat" and a "strencle," both of silver, of 5 lbs. weight; a new silver-gilt cross, and a staff to it consisting of three silver pipes with gilt knots or "boces," the whole weighing 9 lbs. 1 oz.; and a silver-gilt chrismatory, which must have been a very splendid one, for it weighed 5 lbs. and half an ounce. The total weight of all the plate is given as 47 lbs. 3 oz. Troy. I do not see how this is made up, for even by adding in the weights given in the first part the total does not reach 47 lbs.

The new purchases comprised a number of reliquaries: fourteen pieces and pixes of silver, five pixes of ivory, and three burses of silk.

The inventory concludes with two entries to the effect that there was found in the chest 8 lbs. 2 oz. of good silver; 1 lb. of silver; and 3 oz. of the same silver, but alloyed with lead.

Inventory of the Vestments and Jewels of the parish church of St. Mary, Scarborough, 1434.

Vestimenta et Jocalia ecclesie parochie de Scardeburgh.

Memorandum quod Ballivi et Communitas Ville de Scardeburgh deliberaverunt Johanni Langton procuratori ecclesie beate Marie de Scardeburgh bona sua subscripta pertinentia ecclesie predicte custodienda ad opus Ballivorum et Communitatis predict' xx^{mo} die Octobris Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum xiij^{o} videlicet, unum vestimentum album integrum cum una capa eiusdem secte Item unum aliud vestimentum album integrum cum duabus capis eiusdem secte Et unum aliud vestimentum integrum de blodio cum pavonibus de auro intextum cum una capa eiusdem secte Et unum aliud vestimentum integrum de panno deaurato cum una capa eiusdem secte Et unum aliud vestimentum integrum de viridi cum duabus capis eiusdem secte

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Et unum aliud vestimentum rubeum integrum cum porcis albis intextum cum una capa eiusdem secte Et unum aliud vestimentum integrum de rubeo stragulatum pro dominicis cum una capa eiusdem secte Et unum vestimentum integrum de blodio pro exequiis mortuorum cum una capa eiusdem secte Et unum vestimentum integrum de nigro cum tribus capis eiusdem secte pro exequiis mortuorum Et unum vestimentum de panno deaurato pro ix lectionibus & Commemoracionibus Et unum aliud vestimentum simplex pro diebus ferialibus Et duo alba vestimenta pro quadragesima Et unam Capam vocatam Galon cope Et duas alias capas debiles Et pro summo altari ecclesie predicte xij auterclothes et sex frontell quinque corporaxes cum quatuor casis pro eisdem et unum baudekynum de panno deaurato et alie tres (*sic*) baudekyns veteres Et duos libros missales cum uno alio libro vocato le pistelboke, quatuor calices de argento et deaurato Et unum deosculatorium de argento et deaurato Et alia tria deosculatoria Et sex coddes de serico Et unum par thuribulorum de argento et deaurato Et unam navem pro thure de argento cum uno parvo cocliari de argento pro eodem Et unam navem pro thure de cupro Et duo candelabra de argento et duo candelabra de auricalco Et duas fiolas de argento et quatuor fiolas de electro Et novem sensyng amyces Et octo vestimenta pro pueris ministrantibus ad altare Et unum sudarium de albo serico et duo sudaria de panno lineo embrouderat' pro crismator' Et unum sudarium pro nupcijs Et duos pannos de serico stragulato pro sepulcro domini Et duo crismatoria vetera unde unum de Cupro et aliud de ligno depicto Et quatuor cortina alba de panno lineo pro oȝmento altaris tempore quadragesime Et duas Cruces quarum una de Cupro deaurato cum duobus vexillis eisdem pertinentibus Et unum coopertorium pro Cruce tempore quadragesime Et unum velum pro choro tempore quadragesime Et unum velum pro summa Cruce eodem tempore Et quinque manutergia pro lavatorio Et sex howselyng towell longis Et sex qwysshins pro vicario et diaconis Et unum carpett' iacens ante altare Et unum magnum librum vocatum Coucher iacentem coram vicario in choro Et dua (*sic*) antiphonaria et duos portos (*sic*) iacentes ex parte australi chori Et vij antiphonaria iacentia ex parte boriali chori et quatuor psalteria et unum antiphonarium Scoticum Et duo legenda vetera et duo legenda nova et octo processionaria Et vj gradalia et unum tropor Et unum colectare Et quatuor manuell Et unum martilogium Et duo ordinalia et unum librum vocatum mortuarium Et unum novum librum ympnorum Et unum librum vocatum Venite boke et unum librum vocatum Gospellar' Et unum novum librum vocatum byble Et unum Huguycion et unum psalterium glosatum et unum psalterium Ricardi de Hampole Et unum magr̃ historiarum Et unum librum ysodor' de summa (*sic*) bono et unum parvum librum de confessione Et duo doceres et quatuor coverlides et duas lucernas pro sacramento et duas parvas campanas portandas coram Sacramento et vj sconses pro candelis et unum candelabrum de latoñ cum duobus floribus et duo candelabra magna de Cupro stancia coram altare summo et unum vers boke Et unum pannum de serico viridi datum ecclesie per dominam de malo-lacu.

Pondus et Valor Jocalium ecclesie predicte.

Et Memorandum quod predictum par Sensurarum veterum ponderat iiij^{or} libras ponderis de Troy.
Et predicta navis argenti pro thure cum cocliari argenti ponderant viij uncias larg^{9} troie.
Et predicta duo candelabra argenti ponderant ij libras et iiij^{or} uncias troie.

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Et predicte due fiole argenti ponderant xiiij uncias et dimid'.

Et predictus calix optimus in toto deauratus cum patena eiusdem ponderant duas libras et vij uncias troie.

Et secundus calix cum patena eiusdem deaurat' ponderant viginti uncias troie.

Et tercius calix cum patena eiusdem deaurat' ponderant sexdecim uncias et pondus unius nobilis troie.

Et quartus calix argenti cum patena eiusdem ponderant quinque uncias et pondus dimidii nobilis troie.

Et Coupa argenti et deaurata in qua ponitur Sacramentum altaris cum una pecia argenti infra eandem ponderant duas libras et octo uncias et pondus j^{o} nobilis troie.

Item Memorandum quod vestimenta et Jocalia subscripta per Communitatem de novo empta liberata fuerunt procuratori ecclesie predicte per dictos Ballivos ad custodiend' salve et secure infra Rectoriam ad opus Communitatis.

Videlicet unum vestimentum novum integrum de panno deaurato de viridi serico cum canibus de auro intext' scilicet tres capas unum chesiple ij tuniculis et fanons stoles et parollis eisdem pertinentibus valoris xliij li

Et unum pannum de eodem panno deaurato vestiment' pendendum ante summum altare cum uno frontello eiusdem panni et unum vexillum pro Cruce argenti Et duos pelves argenti valoris xvij li xiij s. iiij d.

Et unum lectum cum uno tapeto de rubeo Worsted embrouderat' cum leonibus et una archa rubea.

Et unum par Sensurarum novarum ponderis—tres libras duas uncias et dimid'
Et unum aliud par novum Sensurarum ponderis—tres libras duas uncias et dimid' } x li.

Et unum holywater ffat argenti cum uno strencle argenti ponderis—quinque libras troie.

Et unam Crucem novam de argento deaurato ponderis—quatuor libras sex uncias et dimid' troie

Et tres pipas de argento cum boces deauratis pro hasta dicte Crucis ponderis—quatuor libras vj uncias et di.

Et unum Crismatorium argenti deaurati ponderis—quinque libras et unam unciam troie.

Et predicte due pelves argenti pro Lavatorio ponderis—tres libras unam unciam et dimid' troie.

Summa totalis ponderis—xlvij libras et iij uncias troie.

Et xiiij pecias et pixides argenti in quibus diverse reliquie sanctorum includuntur.

Et quinque pixides de Ivory et tres burse de serico diversas alias reliquias continentes.

Unum pannum lineum cum rubio serico borduratum ad sepulcrum.

Item unum tovelum lineum ad communicacionem continent' octo ulnas.

Item duos curtyns cum uno avtarcloth de serico viridi cum auro verberat'.

Item unum novum vestimentum de serico deaurato cum una capa eiusdem.

Item duas fruntelles novas ad altare quarum una de panno deaurato et alia de bustian.

Item inventum est in cista viij libras et ij uncias troi boni argenti.

Item unam libram argenti et iij uncias de eodem argento mixto cum plumbo troi.

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II.—*The Inventory of the White Friars or Carmelites of Newcastle-on-Tyne.*

Some time ago, while looking through the Society's collection of manuscripts, I found lying loose between the pages of MS. 114—a work on "The different state of the godly and of the wicked," by Richard Berkeley—an original inventory of the "house of the white freres in Newcastell." This work is one of those which the Society became possessed of after the death of the Rev. John Brand, then Secretary, in 1806, and the inventory probably came into his possession in connection with his fine *History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, published in 1789. As, however, there is no mention of the inventory in his work, I presume Mr. Brand obtained it too late for publication.

The history of the White Friars of Newcastle is very scanty. Their house appears to have been first established in the reign of Henry III. It was surrendered by the prior, seven brethren, and two novices, in their chapter-house, January 10, 30 Henry VIII.

The inventory under notice is that of the contents of the house made after the surrender.

It is written on two sides of a sheet of foolscap, but in such a manner that to read the second page one must turn the leaf over from the bottom.

Secured by a thread to the top of the front page is a slip of paper, on which is written, in a contemporary but very different hand from that of the inventory, the following memorandum:

Jhc̃

Be ytt knawyn to all meñ by the p̄sent wrytyng that I Wyll^m Carr off the town off newe castell upoñ tyne m̄cha^unt awis oñ to ser george lawsoñ knyght viij li sterlyng to be payd at messomer next Cõyng In wetness hereoff I the fforsayd Wyll bende me my aris & exseketore & all my gode & ffor the more surte I have wrytyn this byll w^t my awne hand & set to my sele the viij day off ffeverȝerie in the ȝere off owre lord god m^ll v c & xxxviij ȝere.

p me Wyll^m Carr (L.S.)

The inventory itself is written in a clear hand with additions and alterations in the same writing as the attached slip. There are also a few insertions in a

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different hand, one of which, at the very beginning of the inventory, explains the existence of William Carr's [a] acknowledgment:

> Dꝫ p bill It' all the copes & vestmẽtꝛ sold to W^m^ carr for viij^li^.
> on Joꝙ' lyne

The Sir George Lawson to whom the eight pounds was due was the custodian of the Whitefriars for the king after the suppression[b]; and the inventory was probably drawn up for his use, to dispose of the contents of the house to the best advantage.

The inventory enumerates the contents of the church, kitchen, cloister, frater, brewhouse, buttery, dorter, and lady chapel respectively.

The church contained four altars. The high altar had an alabaster reredos with a wooden canopy or tester over it; and the rood altar stood within a screen or parclose. The choir was furnished with stalls, and separated from the nave by a "parclosse overwhart the churche."

Amongst the ornaments were two great brasen candlesticks, and a lesser pair; one iron candlestick—perhaps for the paschal; a lamp of latten, a pair of organs, and two wooden lecterns.

The gravestones, or "layrestones," as they are called, formed part of the spoil; and the brasses in them sold for five shillings.

The contents of the ladye chapel are separately specified: viz. a pair of organs; two tables of alabaster—perhaps reredoses; and "all the stallꝛ and sylingꝛ within the same chapell."

These items, unfortunately, do not enable us to reconstruct the plan of the church, in spite of an inserted entry at the end, which mentions "the chapell next the dore."

The contents of the kitchen introduce us to some interesting north-country words: an iron chimney (*i.e.* fireplace), with tongs, rakes, and clames, (*i. e.* clamps, pieces of iron at the ends of a fireplace); six brass pots; a fire "chaufer;" a "posnett" (little pot); three yetlings (small vessels of cast metal); nine dublers (large dishes); six dishes, of which two appear to have disappeared, or been broken, before the sale; six "pottingers," a frying pan, a spit, and two saucers.

[a] William Carr, of Cocken, in the parish of Houghton-le-Spring. He was son of Ralph Carr, mayor of Newcastle in 1532, and was himself sheriff of that town in 1557, mayor in 1565, and M.P. in 1572, in which year he died. His will has been printed by the Surtees Society. (*Wills and Inventories*, i. 382.)

[b] Brand, i. 64 *n.*

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The only moveable furniture in the cloister was a "lavetarye of tynne and lead."

The frater contained seven long tables and two partitions. The latter probably divided off the "screens" from the frater proper.

The contents of the brewhouse were unimportant. Those of the buttery do not speak of much wealth,—three basons, seven lavers, as many candlesticks, two "pottell pottϵ," a pewter salt, four "bourd clothes," and the same number of towels, forming the total. The plate belonging to the monastery had of course been already carried off "for the king's use."

We are not told where the dorter was. At Hulne it was over the east walk of the cloister, while at Denbigh it was on the south. The one at Newcastle was divided, as usual, into cubicles; for the inventory specifies, "all the sellϵ and particions within the same."

Any other articles within the house are included in the very general terms of the last entry in the inventory:

Itm̃ all other Small tryfellϵ.

The additions to the inventory exclusively refer to the prices realised for the various items. The amounts are in all cases small. An entry added at the very end of the inventory is, however, curious:

It' a litil table of arbalastre in the chapell next the dore sold to anne carr for two kercheffϵ.

In the accompanying transcript the additions in the same hand as the inventory are printed in italics; the insertions are placed within brackets.

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Inventory of the White Friars of Newcastle on Tyne. 1538.

Stuf and other thinge Remanyng w^t^in the house of the white freres in Newcastell.

[Dꝫ p bill . . . on Jos' lyne]

[It' all the copes & vestmẽte sold to W^m^ carr for viij^li^.]

In the qwere.

[Alex' burritt d xxs]

Itm at the hye aulter a faire Table of alplaster w^t^ the syling o̅ it.
Itm ij great brasyn candlestickꝭ. *xvj^d^*
Itm ij paire of lesse candlestickꝭ. *ij^s^. viij^d^*
Itm ane yron candlesticke. *iiij^d^*
Itm a lampe of latten. *xiij^d^*
Itm a paire of organnes.
Itm all the stallꝭ in the qwere w^t^ the doores.
vj^d^.
Itm ij lettrons of wood.
*Itm iij awters of waynescot iiij^s^*
*Itm the laton on the larestones v^s^*

In the vestrye.

xx^d^. xx^d^.
Itm ij Cheestꝭ and a litle presse.

Itm the ꝑclosse o̅ whart the churche and also all the ꝑclosse aboutꝭ the roode chapell *xiij^s^ iiij^d^*
Itm all the layre stones and candlestickꝭ of yron and other yron w^t^in the churche.

In the kitchin.

Itm one yron chymney w^t^ tongꝭ Rakkꝭ and Clames.
Itm vj brasen pottꝭ *one pot xvj^d^/ j nother xvj^d^/ iij pottꝭ iij^s^ iiij^d^*
Itm one fyre chaufer. *xij^d^*
Itm one posnett. *vj^d^*
viij^d^.
ex^a^ vj. Itm iij yetlyngꝭ w^t^ a great basing *j yetlynge solde for viij^d^*
Itm ix Dublers
iiii
Itm vj^a^ dishes } *iij^s^*
Itm vj pottingers
Itm one frying panne.
Itm one Spytt. *vij^d^*
Itm ij Sawsers.
[this stonds dꝫ of thod^r^ side] [Itm iij olde laten basingꝭ vj la̅s of laten to Thomas Jobson xvj^d^.]

^a^ Drawn through.

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In the Cloyster.

[None]. Itm the lavetarye of tynne and lead.

In the ffratre.

Itm vij long Tables and ij ꝑtycions.

The Brewhouse.

Itm a brewing lead.
Itm a maskefatt.
Item a guyle fatt.

The buttrye.

Dr. Itm iij basinges } *xvj*^{d} *Thomas Jobson.*
Item vij lavers }
Dr. Itm vij Candlestickꝭ *viij*^{d} *Thomas Jobson.*
Itm ij pottell pottꝭ *xvj*^{d}
Itm ane pewther salt
Itm iiij bourd clothes
Itm iiij Towellꝭ.

The Dorter.

Itm all the Sellꝭ and ꝑticions w^{t}in the same.

The ladye chapell.

Itm a paire of Organnes.
Itm ij Tables of alplaister.
Itm all the Stallꝭ and sylingꝭ w^{t}in the same chapell.

Item all other Small tryfellꝭ.

[dȝ anne carr.] [It' a litil table of arbalastre in the chapell next the dore sold to anne carr for two kercheffꝭ.]

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IV.—*Some account of Savaric, bishop of Bath and Glastonbury 1192—1205. By the Rev.* C. M. Church, *M.A., F.S.A., Subdean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

Read June 9, 1887.

"Savaric is a person whose career if it could be explored would be very interesting." So wrote Dr. Stubbs in 1865.[a] The history of Savaric is yet to be written.[b]

Some knowledge of his episcopate is necessary for the consideration of the question whether any part of the fabric of the church was his work.

His worldly and eccentric career is a strange interlude between the decorous and beneficent episcopates of his predecessors and that of bishop Jocelin his successor. As a citizen of the world he exercised remarkable influence for his personal ends with the chief personages of his time at home and abroad—popes, emperor, and kings. He was one of the diplomatic agents at the court of Henry VI. emperor of the Romans, in the European questions raised by the captivity of Richard.

At home his annexation to the see of Bath of the abbey of Glastonbury by a circuitous and bold intrigue forms one of the ecclesiastical events which throw light on the relations of Church and State at the time just preceding the Great Charter.

He was connected with the families of Savaric of Le Mans, and Bohun of the Norman Côtentin. His elder brother Franco de Bohun held the estates of

[a] Vide *Epistolae Cantuarienses, Pref. and Notes*, p. lxxxvii. by Dr. Stubbs. Also *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1863, p. 621. These notes supply material for the pedigree of the families of Savaric and Bohun in Appendix A.

[b] Scanty notes of a paper by the late J. R. Green are to be read in the Somerset Archaeological Society's *Proceedings* for 1863.

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Savaric Fitz-savaric his uncle, who had married into the Bohun family and was first lord ot Midhurst, in Sussex, in the time of Henry I. The two brother bishops, Jocelin de Bohun,[a] bishop of Sarum 1142—1184, and Richard de Bohun, dean of Bayeux and bishop of Coutances 1151—1179, were his uncles, and Reginald, son of Jocelin, his immediate predecessor as bishop of Bath, his cousin.

Through his mother, as is supposed, a Burgundian,[b] he was a kinsman of the emperor Henry VI. Names of the Bohun family appear in the registers of Reginald's and Savaric's time and among the canons of Wells.[c]

I.—*Early Life.*

Savaric's first public appearance is ominous of his masterful character and turbulent career.

In the patent rolls for Surrey of the year 1172 he is named as heavily fined, 26*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for striving to wrest a bow from the king's foresters.[d] Notwithstanding, in 1175 he was archdeacon of Canterbury, appointed at Westminster by archbishop Richard.[e] He was treasurer of the church of Sarum in 1180, where his uncle was bishop.[f] He signs as archdeacon of Northampton in a document in the Wells registers of a date later than 1180, attesting a grant of the church of Carenton (Carhampton), in West Somerset, to bishop Reginald.[g]

On this occasion the only other signatory is one "Dalmatius Seneschallus Lugdunensis," an unknown name suggestive of Savaric's Burgundian connection. The confirmation of this grant by bishop Reginald is attested by Savaric and by Alexander dean of Wells and others.

As archdeacon of Northampton he came under the displeasure of king Henry,

[a] Vide Appendix A. Pedigree of Savaric and Bohun family.

[b] Dr. Stubbs, vide *Pref. Epp. Cantuar.* p. lxxxvii. Howden, 3, 197.

[c] Franco de Bohun attests a charter of bishop Reginald to Glastonbury—John de Bohun was canon at Wells in Savaric's time. There is some reason for thinking Alexander the dean 1180—1209 was a Bohun. Roger de Bohun was canon in Savaric's time, and nephew of the dean, *v.* Appendix A.

[d] "Savaricus clericus debet xxvi. libras et iii. solidos et iv. denarios pro arcu quam voluit auferre ministris Regis in foresta." *Mag. Rot.* 18 Hen. II. *Rot.* 106, Surreia: quoted by Stubbs.

[e] Le Neve, Fasti, i. p. 38. Ralph de Diceto, f. 588.

[f] Jones, *Fasti of the Church of Sarum.* V. Osmund Reg. i. 268-299, 312.

[g] R. i. f. 24.

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and his conduct is matter of complaint to the pope. In June 1186 the king's clerks bring letters from Urban to intercede for Savaric, but with orders to sequestrate his archdeaconry for the payment of his debts.[a]

Though in disgrace with Henry he rose quickly into favour with Richard when king, probably through the influence of Reginald. He was one of the crowd of ecclesiastics and courtiers who started with Richard for the Holy Land,[b] and he was with him at Messina in February 1191. There, by some mysterious means, this disgraced archdeacon, who could not pay his debts, and was not yet in priest's orders, obtained private letters from Richard ordering the king's justiciar to sanction in the king's name his appointment to any bishopric to which he might be elected.[c]

These letters were sent to his cousin Reginald. Savaric then betook himself to Rome, where he was already very well known, as the centre from whence he could best work out his schemes.[d]

The see of Canterbury was now vacant by the death of archbishop Baldwin at Acre in November 1190. Savaric, in 1191, was using his influence with the emperor Henry and Philip Augustus of France to obtain letters from them to the convent of Canterbury,[e] recommending Reginald for the archbishopric. Reginald, who had other recommendations as a steady supporter of the convent in the quarrel with archbishop Baldwin, was elected Nov. 27, 1191, but he did not survive his election more than a month, and the see was again vacant. Savaric, while interceding for Reginald, had been working to acquire for himself the reversion of the see of Bath. Reginald before his death showed the king's letters to Walter prior of Bath, and obtained from the convent the nomination of Savaric as bishop. The election rested with the two chapters, the canons of Wells, as well as the monks of Bath, but Walter, archbishop of Rouen, the king's justiciar, without waiting for the assent of the Wells chapter, and in spite of their protests,

[a] Benedict, i. p. 356. Ralph de Diceto, ii. p. 105.

[b] He was "Cruce signatus" when archdeacon of Northampton. *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 38.

[c] Richard of Devizes, p. 28. Ed. Stevenson. Richard was at Messina from Sept. 23, 1190, to March 30, 1191.

[d] "Ipse vero Romam concessit sicut qui fuerat Romanis notissimus." Ralph de Diceto, p. 46.

[e] *Epp. Cantuar.* cccl**xxx**i. November 1191. The emperor urges the convent to take the advice of Savaric, "our dear cousin and your good friend."

Ep. cccl**xxx**ii. Philip recommends Reginald as his father's friend, "et propter commendationem a Savarico amico et fideli nostro."

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gave forthwith the king's assent to Savaric's election.[a] Savaric at Rome obtained the confirmation of pope Celestine, and after some delay was by his order ordained priest at St. John Lateran on Sept. 19, and consecrated bishop of Bath the next day, Sept. 20, 1192.

II.—*Savaric, bishop, and abbot of Glastonbury.*

Savaric had thus attained the bishopric through his influence with Richard and his friends in high place. He now made his kinsman, the emperor of the Romans, Henry VI. the means of coercing Richard to advance still further his interests.

In the winter of 1192 Richard, returning from Palestine, and tempest-tossed in the Adriatic, was wrecked on the low shore between Venice and Aquileia.

After romantic adventures and escapes, which formed the subject of troubadour lays, he was made prisoner near Vienna, in the territory of his enemy the duke of Austria, Dec. 12, and after confinement at Dürrenstein, on the Danube, he was delivered up to the emperor Henry[b] at the price of 60,000 crowns, and about March 23–30 brought to Speyer.

Throughout the whole of 1193, and to Feb. 1194, Richard was a prisoner in the hands of Henry, who was basely making terms at the same time with Richard for his release, and with his enemies, his brother John and Philip of France, for his retention.

News of Richard's captivity had reached England in February 1193. A council was summoned by Walter archbishop of Rouen, the justiciar, to meet at Oxford on Feb. 28 to deliberate on measures to be taken to obtain the king's release. Savaric was there named as a fit agent to negotiate with the emperor as being a kinsman of the emperor and then abroad, and a mission was sent from England to confer with the king, and to arrange the terms of release.

During 1193 Savaric was present at interviews which took place between the emperor and the king. At Worms in June 1193, where Savaric and William bishop of Ely were present, terms were finally arranged. The ransom was 100,000 marcs, and 50,000 more were to be paid as perquisite to the duke of

[a] Richard of Devizes, p. 46. "Walterus prior et suus sine clero (sc. Wellensi) conventus elegerunt sibi in futurum episcopum Savaricum, et licet clerus reniteretur obtinuerunt."

R. i. f. 93. "Canonicis irrequisitis et reclamantibus."

[b] Henry VI. Emperor of the Romans 1190—1197, "son and successor of Barbarossa, inherited all his father's harshness with none of his father's generosity." Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 205.

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Austria. Walter of Rouen, Savaric, and others, were ultimately made hostages for payment of the ransom, bound not to leave Germany without the knowledge of the emperor. But it was not until after a protest from the princes of Germany at Henry's ignoble detention of his captive after promise of release that Richard was finally released at Mainz on February 2nd, 1194.[a]

After a captivity of one year six weeks and three days Richard was again in England.

On April 17, 1194, he was crowned a second time at Winchester, "to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity." But the burden of taxation for his ransom lay heavily on the kingdom.

While Savaric was taking part in negotiations for Richard's release he was not unmindful of his own interests. He is said by the Glastonbury writers to have had power with the emperor to make the king's release in some way conditional on his acceptance of clauses suggested to the emperor by Savaric, in which he pressed his own advancement. According to Richard's own statement, as reported by Adam of Domerham, he had extorted from Richard the exchange of Bath city for the abbey of Glastonbury, and the union of the abbey to the see of Bath, so that the jurisdiction and rights of an abbot should be vested in him, with the title of bishop of Bath and Glastonbury.

There was no vacancy in the abbacy at the time, but this immediate difficulty was overcome.[b]

The abbot was Henry, of Sully, on the Loire (Henricus de Soliaco), nephew of Henry of Blois, the great abbot of Glastonbury, and bishop of Winchester, kinsman of Richard, and appointed by him in 1189. Orders were sent to him by Richard to join him at Hagenau, in Alsace, in April, 1193.

He there learnt from Richard himself that he was beholden to cede in exchange the abbey to Savaric, the kinsman of the emperor, that he must resign

[a] Vide Howden, 3, 194-231, for notices of Richard's captivity under the emperor Henry. The stations and dates of his imprisonment were—

Speyer, March 21-30. 1193.
Treifels in Rhenish Bavaria.
Hagenau in Alsace, April—May.
Worms, May 28—June 30.
Speyer, December and Christmas.
Mainz, Feb. 1194.

[b] Vide Adam of Domerham, p. 353.

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the abbey, and should be provided for by the vacant see of Worcester. The abbot entered into Savaric's plans and made his arrangements accordingly.

At this same time Savaric was aiming at a higher prize. The archbishopric of Canterbury which he had sought to obtain for Reginald he now sought for himself.

Two letters from Richard following one another, from Worms in May 28 and June 8, represent Richard's ignominious position and Savaric's pretensions.

On May 28 Richard wrote to the convent of Canterbury on behalf of Savaric.

On June 8 he wrote to Eleanor the queen mother to secure the election to Canterbury of Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and to credit no letters in favour of Savaric, or any other candidate. He is forced, he says, during his captivity to write in favour of persons whom he does not wish to be promoted—"pro quibusdam supplicare quos nullatenus promoveri vellemus."[a]

Hubert was appointed soon after in 1193, and Savaric proceeded to mature his plans for Glastonbury. He obtained letters from Richard and William bishop of Ely (Longchamp) to pope Celestine, asking for papal sanction to the union of the bishopric and the abbacy as the only means of putting a stop to the chronic state of discord between bishop and monks. Abbot Henry had returned to Glastonbury about Michaelmas, and, having made his arrangements without revealing the secret treaty, he left the abbey at Advent, and was consecrated at Canterbury bishop of Worcester, Dec. 12, 1193.[b] Then for the first time did the convent learn that their abbot had betrayed them into the hands of their enemies, and that they had passed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Bath as their abbot.

Adam of Domerham relates that Savaric was then at Bath and sent for Harold, the prior, and announced to his surprise, "I am your abbot."[c]

The action of claiming possession of the abbey in the king's name, and inducting the bishop by his proxy, was carried out by Savaric's agents, selected from

[a] Vide *Epp. Cantuar.* 402, 403.

[b] Vide Adam of Domerham, 356-7. The betrayal of the abbey has condemned the memory of abbot Henry to infamy in the Glastonbury history, notwithstanding that he obtained for the abbot from pope Celestine the privileges of the mitre and ring, and of blessing the vestments. The "Inquisition of the manors of Glastonbury Abbey," *Liber Henrici de Soviaco*,—the terrier of the abbey in 1189,—was made in his time.

[c] It is not likely that Savaric, named as a hostage for the payment of the ransom, was in England at this time. He was at Mainz at the time of Richard's release, which took place on Feb. 2, 1194.

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the chapter of Wells.[a] On the part of the abbey a solemn protest from prior and convent addressed to the pope was laid upon the altar of St. Andrew in the church of Wells.

Bath city at the same time was seized in the king's name.

III.—*War with Glastonbury.*

This bold invasion of the independence of the great and most ancient abbey which until the last forty years had held the primacy among the abbeys of England,[b] though effected by a surprise, was not submitted to without a severe struggle. War between Wells and Glastonbury ensued for the next twenty-five years, until 1219—fought out under the two episcopates of Savaric and Jocelin. Richard and John, with the popes Celestine, Innocent III., and Honorius, were engaged in the struggle.

The attempt to restrain the excessive power of the religious houses was being made about the same time at Canterbury under the archbishops Baldwin and Hubert, and at Coventry under bishop Hugh Nonant. But Savaric's audacity and strength of will carried him through his struggle with more success than either of his brethren, and he transmitted to his successor the title of bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, with a fourth part of the revenue and a large portion of the manors of the abbey.

The Glastonbury writers are naturally vehement in their complaints of the rapacity and cruelty of the invader and oppressor, and the public opinion of churchmen was generally against him. But the example of the archbishops Baldwin and Hubert, and of bishop Hugh of Lincoln,[c] and the support which

[a] Ralph of Lechlade, a well-known name in the chapter registers, afterwards (in 1217-20) dean in bishop Jocelin's time, is named as proctor.

[b] St. Alban's was made the primal abbey under pope Adrian IV. (Nicolas Breakspear) who had been a monk of St. Alban's in 1154.

[c] It is instructive to compare how at the same time another and a very different man was fighting a like battle with the king, and with what different weapons he gained his cause.

St. Hugh of Lincoln in 1197 pressed his claim to the right of patronship *(jus patronatus)* based upon ancient precedent, to the vacant abbey of Eynsham, which had been disputed by the king's ministers.

Hugh's friends tried to dissuade him from entering into a hopeless conflict with the king: but he stoutly prosecuted his suit, and by the oath of twenty-four credible witnesses, cleric and lay, gained his cause in the king's court. *Vita S. Hugonis*, iv. 8, p. 188, ed. Dimock.

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Savaric received from his successor bishop Jocelin and the chapter of Wells, show that there were good men who saw the importance of checking the exorbitant pretensions to independence of the overgrown monasteries in the diocese. Savaric's attempt to bring the other religious houses of his diocese into closer relation to the cathedral church are a sign that he had a policy which was reasonable and consistent, though it is probable that his leading motives in the annexation of Glastonbury were greed and ambition, his acts were violent and tyrannical, and he certainly showed nothing of the spirit of a reformer.

The struggle illustrates the unsettled state of the relations between Church and State at this time, the growth of papal interference, and the inconsistent and selfish policy of the Roman Curia, which soon provoked the national assertion of independence of papal interference in the election of bishops and abbots in the Great Charter of 1215.

There are three stages in the history of the struggle during Savaric's life, according to the Glastonbury historian—

(*a.*) During Richard's time the wolf was kept out of the fold for five years, 1194-1199.

(*b.*) As soon as John succeeded, the wolf sprang into the fold to devour and to lay waste, 1199-1202.

(*c.*) He was checked by the strong arm of the pope, Innocent the Third, 1202-1205.

Savaric had been inducted under Richard's grant, then abroad and in captivity. But Richard, on his return to England, resenting Savaric's power over him in Germany, repudiated his concession as a fraudulent exchange forced upon him when not a free agent. He received the appeal of the convent, and refused to acknowledge Savaric as abbot, and put the abbey under the charge of

The custody of the abbey during vacancy was restored to him—the right of confirming the abbot and full jurisdiction over the convent.[a] At a conference of abbots and other religious of the neighbourhood at Eynsham, the elected of the convent is presented to the bishop, and his benediction is given at Lincoln. At the feast which he gave afterwards it was the subject of rejoicing that like the good shepherd he had gathered into one flock sheep that were of another fold, and had united in federal union under one headship church and abbacy.

[a] *Vita S. Hugonis*, iv. 8, p. 188. Ed. Dimock. "Huic ei restituitur abbatiae vacantis custodia —praeficiendi quoque abbatis jurisdictio plena et absoluta." These words are to be somewhat modified by the description of what took place.

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William of Ste. Mère l'Eglise, his prothonotary, afterwards bishop of London. This was probably in the autumn of 1194.[a]

Pope and king were at war. Celestine issued his sanction of the union of Bath and Glastonbury in the Lent of 1195, and a second and stronger mandate to the archbishop followed Richard's action in 1196 or 1197, ordering him to put Savaric in possession. Archbishop Hubert, who secretly supported the convent, and had delayed execution of the papal letters, now ordered Alexander dean of Wells, and others of the chapter, to read the pope's letters, inhibiting the convent from electing another abbot, and ordering obedience to Savaric.

The king's officers retired. The abbey was put under the authority of Savaric in October 1197, by archiepiscopal and papal mandate.

Pope Celestine died Jan. 8, 1198.

Richard answered Celestine's mandate by writing to the new pope, Innocent III. in favour of the convent, by taking the abbey into his own hands as lord, and giving the monks permission to elect their own abbot. William Pica (conversione novicius sed medicinae professor) was elected abbot, and approved by the king's justiciar Nov. 25, 1198.

Savaric made the next move. From the manor of Mells he issued his excommunication against William as rival abbot, and laid an interdict upon the convent.

The convent stood out for a time. Abbot William ruled from St. Nicolas' day, Dec. 12, 1198, to the Purification, Feb. 2, 1199; but his attempt to enforce discipline amidst the conflict of authority and factions in the house, united all parties against him, and he left Glastonbury to carry the appeal of the monks before the king in Normandy, and before pope Innocent at Rome. The convent submitted and prayed for remission of the interdict. By the archbishop's authority the abbots of Sherborne and Abbotsbury withdrew the interdict about Easter, 1199; and, a few days after, the abbots of Malmesbury and Evesham, and the precentor of Wells, as the bishop's representative, received the submission of the monks to Savaric's authority. Such was the state of things when Richard's death took place, April 6, 1199.

We see the unsettled state of relations between pope and king in this period of the struggle.

[a] The dates in Adam of Domerham are confused; but he definitely assigns this act to the first autumn after Henry of Sully's consecration to Worcester, which took place Dec. 1193. Ste. Mère l'Eglise is a village in the Côtentin near Carentan. William, bishop of London, is more generally called William of St. Marychurch, but cf. Stubbs, *Episcopal Succession*, anno 1199.

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Papal mandates, illegal by the Constitutions of Clarendon, are published and executed by the archbishop.

The king acts in defiance of them—the bishop excommunicates those who act on Richard's authority—the monastery appeals to both king and pope against the bishop. There is a diversity of treatment by the papal court of the two cases of Canterbury and Glastonbury. In the former case, the pope supported the monks against their archbishop. In the case of Glastonbury the pope sends mandates in favour of the bishop against the monks. Richard is so far consistent, after having repudiated his engagement made to Savaric when a prisoner, that in the year 1198 he forbade the execution of papal mandates alike at Canterbury in favour of the monks[a] and at Glastonbury in favour of Savaric.

It is not easy to trace Savaric's movements through his wandering life.[b]

From the time when he left England with Richard for the Holy Land in December 1189 he was probably absent from England until 1197.

Since 1194 he had held office as chancellor of Burgundy, or "the kingdom of Arles,"[c] under the emperor Henry VI.; and he carried on his contest for the abbey through his agents at Rome and by letters to England.

In 1197 he was sent to England by the emperor, then at Messina struck with compunction and in fear of death, to release Richard from submission made to him when in captivity, and to offer restitution in money or lands for the ransom exacted from him.[d]

Savaric might possibly have used this mission as a means of conciliating Richard to support him in his hold of Glastonbury. But while Savaric was on the journey the emperor died, and the opportunity was lost. We then trace Savaric with Richard at Rouen on October 16, 1197, where he attested the concord made between Richard and the archbishop of Rouen after a quarrel about the castle of Roche Andely,[e] and his arrival in England will have coincided with the execution of the papal mandate for his induction into the abbey.

The abbey was now cowed into submission; but Savaric seems to have

[a] Cf. *Epp. Cantuar.*—Richard's Letters, June 14, 15, 1198, *Pref.* p. cxi.

[b] Vide Appendix B.

[c] "Regnum Arelatense," including Provence, Dauphiné, the southern part of Savoy, and the country between the Saône and the Jura. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 448.

[d] Howden says, that Richard when in captivity, "consilio matris suae deposuit se de regno Angliae et tradidit illud imperatori Henrico sexto sicut universorum domino." But as he was invested at the same time with the kingdom of Arles by Henry VI. his homage may have been for that fief only. Vide Bryce, p. 187.

[e] Howden, 4, 30. Ralph de Diceto, 699.

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been restrained from taking possession or further aggression—perhaps by his late interview with Richard, in Normandy.

His friend Celestine died soon after, and a very different pope, Innocent III., succeeded. The monks, supported by the king, were carrying their appeal to him.

During 1198 Savaric was in England, probably for part of the time in his diocese, where some undated charters to the church of Wells and confirmation of his predecessor's grants, in the Wells registers, may belong to this year.

In October of this year—1198—Savaric was one of a commission to arrange Richard's quarrel with archbishop Geoffrey of York, and on the archbishop's appeal to Rome the commissioners were ordered to Rome to conduct Richard's case there.[a]

Savaric had also his own business to transact at Rome. He had just excommunicated the abbot elected by the convent of Glastonbury under Richard's authority, and put an interdict upon the abbey for disobeying the pope's mandate. It was now necessary for him to obtain Innocent's confirmation of his act, and to carry on his own case against the agents of the convent in the Roman Curia.

He was there through the winter of 1198-9, when the news of Richard's death on April 6, 1199, brought him back at once to England to take immediate advantage of John's accession, and to try a shorter method, by influence and by bribes, to obtain from him possession of the abbey which Richard had persistently denied him.[b]

Savaric found John a ready instrument for his purpose. He obtained at once an order to the archbishop for his public installation as abbot at Glastonbury, and Hubert issued a commission to the archbishop of Arragon and the archdeacon of Canterbury to enthrone him.

Savaric was present at John's coronation at Westminster on Ascension Day 1199. According to the ceremonial observed on Richard's coronation, the bishops of Durham and of Bath, walking on the right and left hand of John, conducted him from the throne to the altar to receive the crown, and back again to his throne.

Then Savaric lost no time in asserting himself. On Whitsunday, June 8, Savaric appeared in person at Glastonbury, attended by the dean Alexander, the precentor of Wells, William of St. Faith,[c] and other secular clergy and soldiery. The doors

[a] Howden, 4, 66.

[b] "Tam prece quam pretio ejus comparans gratiam." Adam of Domerham, 382.

[c] He appears in the *Canterbury Letters* as one of the agents of the archbishop Baldwin at Rome against the convent of Canterbury.

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of the abbey were found closed, they were forced open, the cloisters of the church were empty, the monks all but eight refused to appear. The sacristy was broken open, and the secular clergy in the vestments of the monks formed the procession of installation. The monks were then shut up in the infirmary; soldiers took post in the cloisters through the day and night; next day the monks were summoned to the chapter-house. Here some were publicly beaten—threats, promises, cajolery were used with others, and at last the signatures of fifty in number were extorted to a deed addressed to the pope, by which they acknowledged Savaric as their abbot, and promised obedience. The names of the commissioners and of witnesses present attested the deed, it was sealed with the convent seal, and then the great seal of the abbey was given up to Savaric.

Savaric was now in full possession. The wolf had sprung in upon the fold, and he entered in to devour and to lay waste.

Deputations went from the convent to Rome to lay their case before the pope.

Martin de Summa,[a] powerful in money and in friends at Rome, was their chief champion, going backwards and forwards throughout the struggle at great personal risks on the journey. Savaric's unscrupulous agents waylaid, robbed, and imprisoned the monks.

Eustace Comyn, afterwards prior and a great benefactor to the abbey, and John of Cossington, are names of the most active agents. William Pica was there now until his death, not without suspicion of poison, in the next year.

Savaric was attending on the king in Normandy in the summer of 1199.[b] He was probably again at Rome during the winter pleading against the Glastonbury deputation, and he left his agents at Wells to carry on the work of crushing the rebellious spirit of the monks and forcing them to withdraw their agents at Rome. A piteous tale was sent from the abbey to the brethren at Rome of Savaric's outrages and the sufferings of the monks. Innocent was moved to tears by it, as the brethren report in their answer, and promised that he would protect them. A letter from Innocent of later date (August 28, 1202)[c] relates the complaints which reached him at the time and which roused his indignation against Savaric. The gates of the abbey were closed night and day for a year and more, so that no person, no letter, should pass in or out. Refractory monks

[a] His brother was a Milanese, miles potentissimus.—Vide *Royal Letters*, Henry III. 2, 512, and he is called "subdiaconus noster" by pope Innocent. Adam of Domerham, 419.

[b] He attests documents from July 1 to Sept. 7 at different places in Normandy.

[c] Adam of Domerham, p. 406.

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were punished, one by the loss of his corrody or pension; another was beaten in Savaric's presence, so that he died from his injuries; others were injured for life by hardships endured. The pope complained that his own letters, received by Savaric in Flanders, had been treated as forgeries and disregarded; his messengers stopped and robbed. On the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, after Savaric's installation, the prior had called to his aid some of the canons from Wells, among whom was Jocelin, afterwards bishop,[a] who, entering in with some lay people, made a violent assault upon five of the leaders of the rebellion, whom they dragged even from the altar, and carried them off in carts to Wells. There they were imprisoned for eight days, suffering hunger and thirst, insults and mockings, and then were dispersed among other religious houses in the country.

Innocent through this time was trying to arrange matters so as to save the credit of the holy see, and do justice between the parties. He was shocked by Savaric's violence and defiance; he was hampered by Celestine's policy of concession; so he confirmed Celestine's mandate for Savaric's induction, and he annulled William Pica's election; but he inhibited Savaric from acts of excommunication, of vengeance and spoliation, and he appointed a commission to arbitrate and make award between Savaric and the convent.

The commission consisted of Eustace bishop of Ely; Sampson abbot of St. Edmund's; and Godfrey prior of Holy Trinity, Canterbury. They received their mandate in June, 1201; but, either thwarted or bribed by Savaric, they did not proceed to business until, forced by a second mandate from Innocent, they held their sitting at St. Alban's, on September 8, 1202; and made their award, which was confirmed by the pope, September 23, 1202.

This award was the basis of a concordat which lasted for the remainder of Savaric's episcopate.

IV.—*Peace between Savaric and Glastonbury*, 1202-1205.

The ordinance of pope Innocent, based upon the report of the commissioners,[b] is of general historical interest as an example of the Roman jurisdiction overriding the action of the civil court. It also exhibits the internal economy of one

[a] The names occur again of William the precentor, Thomas of Dinant subdean, John de Bohun, and Jocelin, afterwards bishop.

[b] The report is printed in Adam of Domerham, p. 410-425, and a duplicate MS. copy is among the Wells chapter documents.

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of the largest and the most ancient of the abbeys of England. It contains a lengthy recital of the previous stages of the controversy; comments severely on Savaric's attempt to forestall the settlement by an arrangement in the king's court which is now set aside; gives details of local interest touching the income and property of the house, and the number of the monks; and sketches out a scheme for a division of the revenues, and the government of the monastery, "after the pattern of other well-constituted cathedral churches in which are colleges of monks." The award was to be final; if the bishop did not accept it within three months the convent should be restored to its former condition, and the monks should be at liberty to elect their own abbot.

It appeared from the testimony of the older monks that the number in the house had ranged from seventy to eighty, besides twenty-three of the body who held hereditary offices: "hereditario jure constitutos."[a] The nett divisible income after providing for these, and for the necessary wants of the house, such as hospitality, the support of the poor, and fabric repairs, was estimated at eight hundred pounds per annum. Besides this were the altar oblations, which were set apart for the new buildings of the church. The abbey was a barony of the Crown, bound to the service of forty knights.

The scheme of the commissioners on which the papal award in the ordinance was made, estimated the number of the monks at sixty, with a net divisible income of 800*l.*: it provided—

(*a.*) That to the bishop as abbot should belong ten of the manors with the patronage of all the churches on the ten manors, in order to yield him a fourth part of the revenue[b]—the abbot's house within the precincts of the abbey[c]—and Meare in the Glastonbury xii hides;

(*b.*) The bishop should be answerable for a proportionate share of the knight's service to the Crown—should bear his share of the debts of

[a] Vide *Liber de Soliaco*, notes to p. 10. The offices of porter, master baker, cook and butcher, were hereditary (some from Dunstan's time), and occasionally descended to females who acted by deputy, *e. g.* the office of pincerna, "butler," who distributed wine to the guests, was held by a daughter of a former pincerna. This office, and some others held *hereditario jure*, were afterwards bought up by the abbey. Vide Adam of Domerham, p. 531.

[b] The manors of Pucklechurch, Wynescomb, Badbury in Wilts, Essebury (Ashbury in Berks), Buckland, Lyme, Blackford, East Brent, Berges (Berrow), Cranmore.

[c] "Ut habeat episcopus domos juxta capellam beatae mariae quae fuerunt abbatum, cum clausura sua per murum qui extenditur a lardario usque ad angulum prædictae capellae; et ut fiat porta ejus versus forum Glastoniense."

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the convent, and should make restitution or compensation for lands alienated, for patronage unjustly exercised, for injuries to monks ejected or persecuted during the late troubles ;[a]

(*c.*) The appointment and deposal of the higher officers; prior, sacrist, chamberlain, cellarer, should belong to the bishop;

(*d.*) The bishop should have canonical jurisdiction over the prior and the convent.

In the internal government it was provided there should be a common purse in charge of four treasurers elected by the convent. The seal of the abbey was to be kept under four keys, of which the prior and two brethren elected by the convent and a fourth appointed by the bishop should be holders. No deeds should be signed otherwise than in chapter, in presence of the brotherhood.

This ordinance was accepted by both bishop and convent. Hostilities now ceased for the remainder of Savaric's life—both parties seem to have fulfilled their parts of the arrangement. Adam of Domerham has no further complaint to bring against Savaric—"he even showed himself gentle to all—he began to make many gifts, and he promised more." In compensation, he offered, and they accepted, the exchange of the manors of Kingston and Christian Malford for East Brent and Berrow. He voluntarily ceded the manor of Lyme, which had been the hereditary possession of the cook.

Savaric might well be content. He had won in a struggle of nine years. Having obtained the enforced concession of Richard, and pope Celestine's support, he had held to his claim against the open opposition of the king, the secret antagonism of archbishop Hubert, and the weight of adverse public opinion. John he had probably bribed. He had obtained terms from even Innocent the Third.

Peter of Blois, in writing to him, had represented to him the general opinion that he was striving for an impossibility in seeking to bring under one mitre bishopric and abbey, and that he need not be ashamed to fail in a contest in which no bishop could succeed.

The protests and appeals to Rome from all sides immediately after his death in favour of the abbey witness alike to the displeasure with which his policy was viewed, and to the extraordinary influence and tenacity of purpose by which Savaric had triumphed.

[a] Martinus de Summa, "our subdeacon," is expressly mentioned as one who had suffered. His services to the convent and their ingratitude to him afterwards are the subject of complaint to Henry III. in 1223 from the Podestá and the commune of Milan. *Royal Letters*, Henry III. 2, 215.

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But the pacification of 1202 was obtained at the cost of much diplomacy and much money, in which both Savaric and the convent must have grievously suffered.

The revenues of the see must have been lavished among the lawyers and officials of the Roman chancellery. Savaric's debts were the subjects of epigrams at Rome, and we have evidence that they followed his successor in the see. A letter from the agents of the convent at Rome in the year preceding the award throws some light upon the expenses of the litigation to them—"the convent must pay their debts at Rome before they obtain their award—their agents had made themselves liable for a loan of 900 marcs, due to the money-lenders of Troyes"; the pope himself writes to the convent that their agents had incurred debts to the amount of 750 marcs, which must be paid to the Roman money-lenders before they can be allowed to depart. Martin de Summa and the brethren intimate to the convent that the pope himself will expect to be remunerated for his services to them.[a]

Savaric did not appear at Glastonbury at this time. He preferred the court of John to either of his bishop's seats, or to ruling over recalcitrant monks at Glastonbury. In the summer of 1199 he was with John in Normandy, during July, August, and September; then we lose sight of him. At one time he is in Flanders, where he refuses to receive the pope's letters, or treats them as forgeries.[b] At another time Innocent mentions having seen him and received complaints from him at Rome of losses to the see during his predecessor's time.[c] He was at Rome probably in the winter of 1199.

During the spring and summer of 1200 John was in Normandy and Aquitaine, where, after his divorce, a second marriage was arranged with Isabella of Angoulême, and he returned for coronation at Westminster on Oct. 8, 1200. Savaric was probably there, as he was certainly in England in October, and he was one of John's court at Lincoln on two memorable occasions in November.[d]

On Wednesday, November 22nd, William the Lion king of Scotland did homage to John, and Savaric was one of the attesting witnesses. On the Friday, the 24th, he assisted at the burial of Hugh bishop of Lincoln. During that autumn Hugh had paid his last visit to the homes of his youth in Burgundy, the family home at

[a] He says, "Summus pontifex pro ecclesiae nostrae impensis beneficiis remunerari voluerit et sub episcopo nihil recipere curaverit." Adam of Domerham, pp. 399, 404. There is another reading, "ab episcopo." These words have an ambiguous meaning.

[b] Adam of Domerham, p. 406.

[c] R. 3, f. 262.

[d] He can be traced at Gildeford, Oct. 11. Leddibria (Ledbury), Nov. 6, Upton 7, Feckenham, 9, Lincoln 21-24, Geytenton 28.

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Avalon, and the Great Charterhouse from whence he had come so reluctantly to Witham. He had been taken ill on return to England, and died in his house in the old Temple near London, on Nov. 17.[a] Thence his body was brought down by stages and arrived at Lincoln on the afternoon of Thursday, Nov. 23rd. There unexpectedly to themselves a large and profligate court were called upon to pay the world's last show of homage to the holy and humble of heart. The king of England, the king of Scotland, the archbishops of Canterbury, Dublin, and Ragusa, fourteen bishops, a crowd of abbots, clergy, and barons met the procession outside the city.[b] The body was attended by the king and barons up the steep hill to the church porch, there it was received by the bishops and clergy and borne to its resting-place for the night before the high altar of his church. The next day, Friday, the 24th, he was laid according to his last injunctions before the altar of the newly-finished chapel of St. John the Baptist, in the north transept of the choir.[c]

Reginald of Bath had been instrumental in bringing Hugh of Burgundy from his cell at the Great Charterhouse to Witham, and had helped and honoured him in his work until he was removed to Lincoln. Now Savaric, Reginald's successor, connected also with Burgundy by birth and office, helped to bear Hugh of Lincoln to his grave at Lincoln.

This is the last appearance of Savaric in public life, as far as we can trace.

Whether he was present at Glastonbury at any time after his installation in 1199 does not appear.

We must glance at the sequel of the quarrel with Glastonbury after Savaric's death.

The controversy, which had been set at rest for a time in 1202, broke out afresh immediately on Savaric's death in 1205. No sooner had he passed away than memorials were presented to the pope from all sides, praying for the restoration of the abbey to its former status. John was moved to write to Innocent, and to encourage petitions[d] throughout the kingdom in favour of the abbey, before the see was filled up.

In a short time, general petitions from the barons, from the bishops, abbots, and priors of England, from the churches of Norwich, Worcester, Sarum, from

[a] *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 331, "Proprium diversorium quod secus Londonias apud vetus Templum possidebat."

[b] P. 370.

[c] *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 377, "Sepultus est sicut ipse nobis praeceperat secus parietem non procul ab altare Sancti Johannis Baptistae—a boreali ipsius aedis regione."

[d] For these letters, vide Adam of Domerham, pp. 425, 437. John was at Glastonbury Sept. 3rd, at Wells Sept. 5th 1205.

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Abbotsbury and Muchelney, even from Bath, and Wells, poured in, representing the evils which had ensued from the proceedings of Savaric, the scandal to the Church, the sufferings of the monks, the poor, and the stranger from the lack of means for alms and hospitality; and praying for the dissolution of the union between the see and the convent.

The monks of Bath compare the harmony and prosperity of the see and of the abbey under Reginald with the discord caused by Savaric's policy, which, carried out without their assent, had generated quarrels, and tended to the impoverishment of the abbey and the sufferings of the poor and the stranger.

The canons of Wells, of whom Jocelin was one, deplore their disappointment with the fruits of Savaric's policy. They had hoped great things would result, but their church and the convent have alike greatly suffered.

The church of Worcester refers to the three persecutions of regulars in their time—at Canterbury, at Coventry, and at Glastonbury. Innocent had upheld the cause of the monks at the two former, they pray Innocent not to desert Glastonbury.

The monks of Muchelney, looking up to Glastonbury as their patron and protector, contrast the former glory of the house with its present shame, and derision, and poverty. "What was the need that there should be three cathedral seats in so narrow a diocese, with expense and loss of social and religious unity?"

The church of Sarum laments the weakening of discipline and the loss of hospitality to the poor and stranger.

They all pray for the "reformation" of the great and ancient Benedictine house, and its restoration to former independence.

Innocent, unwilling to revoke so soon his own act and the concessions of his predecessor, yet evidently moved by the strength and unanimity of these petitions, could only evade a decision by declining to make any change during the vacancy of the see, and by giving permission to the convent to prosecute their appeal when the bishop was appointed.

In the decretals of Gregory IX. the answer of Innocent to the petition for a dissolution of the union is made the precedent on which a general canon of the Church is based, that "during the vacancy of a see nothing shall be changed."[a]

After a few months, in May 1206, Jocelin of Wells succeeded to the see. He had been one of Savaric's agents in the union, and, whatever may have been the opinion of the chapter, he, personally, was unwilling that a policy carried out at such a cost should at once be abandoned without bearing some fruit.[b]

[a] *Gregorii Decretalia*, lib. iii. tit. ix. c. i. "Ne sede vacante aliquid innovetur."

[b] The precedent of St. Hugh was before him; vide p. 86.

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The disappointment of the monks vented itself in bitter invectives against Jocelin, as the successor of Savaric in greed and guilt, no less than in the see, and in complaints and appeals to Rome. War was again renewed, but Jocelin retained his hold on Glastonbury, and Innocent supported him. Innocent died in 1216. It was not until Honorius had succeeded Innocent that the court of Rome could decently reverse its policy. Honorius advised Jocelin to conciliate—terms were proposed by him, and finally arranged in a pacification at Shaftesbury, the octave of St. John the Evangelist 1218. The abbey obtained their freedom to elect their own abbot, and the union was dissolved, but the cession of four of their manors was the price they paid for independence.[a]

Jocelin retained the position of patron, intermediate between the Crown and the abbey, and therewith the patron's right of guarding the temporalities during vacancy, of granting *congé d'élire*, of confirmation of election, and of restoration of the temporalities, as well as the diocesan right of benediction, and of visitation. He was the holder of the fief immediately under the Crown, whereby he became responsible for the knights' service from the abbey to the Crown.

William was elected abbot by the convent on the day of St. Grimbald, 1219, and was presented to the bishop. On the vigil of the translation of St. Benedict, July 11, 1219, Jocelin as patron admitted and confirmed the abbot whom the convent had elected.

On the next day as diocesan he gave him the benediction.

On the morrow of St. Laurence, Aug. 11, the bishop came to Glastonbury, and caused the seal of the convent to be put to the deed of concord.

"And so the monastery of Glastonbury, which had been deprived of the dignity of an abbey for twenty-six years, was restored through pope Honorius, although not altogether, yet to the former state of being under the government of its own abbot."[b]

There is no doubt it was a rude and sacrilegious hand which had seized upon the abbey, and succeeded in a bold invasion of the independence and exemption from jurisdiction of the great religious aristocracy, who had lived in security under the protection of royal charters and traditional reputation for sanctity.

But in justice to Savaric we must remember that the Glastonbury historians are scarcely less severe in their strictures afterwards upon Jocelin, the model

[a] *Decree of Dissolution of Union*, by Honorius III. May 17, 1218. R. iii. ff. 263-265.

[b] So Adam of Domerham, pp. 469-475, and John of Glastonbury, i. 208. But they still complain that the "jus patronatus" remained with the bishop.

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bishop, for not surrendering the abbey. The aim was good, and some good result was obtained.

It was well to put a check upon the growing wealth and exorbitant pretensions to independence of the abbey, and to bring it into relation with the cathedral church.

Reginald had attempted to bring the abbot into the chapter of his church, and had given the direction which Savaric followed out with some degree of consistent policy towards the other religious houses in the diocese, and Jocelin was unwilling to relax the hold which Savaric obtained until terms were made which secured some degree of subordination on the part of the abbey. The *patronatus* of the abbey, which Jocelin at last secured to the bishop, placed the bishop as patron of Glastonbury, instead of the Crown, saved the abbey from the long vacancies which often took place under the Norman and Angevin kings, and gave some authority to the bishop in the appointment, and some right of visitation and jurisdiction. Later bishops reaped the benefit of Savaric's violent invasion.

Three years more remained before his death in 1205.

In this time we may bring together a notice of his relations with the rest of his diocese.

V.—*Savaric at Bath; and at Wells.*

The register of the priory of Bath contains a scanty record of his gifts to the convent. The churches of Chew, and Weston, and Compton Dando,[a] are impropriated—two copes are given to the church. When the treasuries of all churches were being emptied to pay king Richard's ransom, Savaric had redeemed from pawn their vestments, crosses, and chalices (ne conflarentur acquietavit.)[b]

The monks of Bath deserved well of him for their hasty zeal in electing him.

The chapter of Wells, notwithstanding their protest and opposition to his election, had stood by him and been his active agents in the struggle with Glastonbury. They received more.

His acts in the latter part of his life seem intended to make return to them;

[a] Comptona Fulconis de Alneto—Dando in Somerset. Dawnay in Wilts is the family name.

[b] Vide *Reg. Prioratus Bathon.* in Lincoln's Inn Library, Appendix C.

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to secure their privileges and rights, and to increase their endowments by a few additional grants.

The only charters which bear date belong to the years 1201 and 1203. The registers record confirmation of bishop Reginald's grant of the manors of Combe and of North Curry, of the church of Carhampton, and of the tithes of all mills on his manors. Additional grants are made of the churches of Lideard, of Pilton, and of the valuable manor of Wiveliscombe, given in commendation of "the true and laudable service of the canons, and with the desire to increase their insufficient endowments, and to remunerate their labours."[a]

Three more prebends were added, and at the same time important arrangements were made with other religious houses in the diocese—the church of Sutton was made a prebend and attached to the abbacy of Athelney, and Ilminster to that of Muchelney.[b] In the same way the abbot of Bec in Normandy after some controversy with Savaric held the church of Cleeve as his prebend in the church of Wells. These three abbots henceforth held stalls as non-resident canons in the church and chapter of Wells, and each supported a vicar, to whom they paid stipends to perform their duties.[c] A federal union with mutual share of privileges and prayers after death was established between the cathedral body and these brotherhoods. There is herein the appearance of a general policy of gathering the heads of the monasteries into the council of the bishop, and making the cathedral church the centre of the diocese.

Savaric appears to have been at Wells for the last time in 1203. By an act in chapter, dated the octave of St. Michael 1203, he exempted the prebends from the jurisdiction of the archdeacons.[d]

Another act, following next in the register, seems to indicate that the violent aggression of Savaric on the possessions of Glastonbury had been followed by invasion of the rights of the Wells chapter. Savaric, the invader of Glastonbury, in his turn now inveighs with indignation at the wickedness of some lay people who "at the instigation of the devil" had not feared to invade the possessions of

[a] R. i. f. 59. Cf. iii. f. 371. "Attendentes quam honeste et laudabiliter in ecclesia Wellensi Domino serviatur, communam eorum tenuem nimis et insufficientem invenimus," i. f. 37. i. f. 23.

[b] This charter bears a date, "Actum apud Welles in praesentia venerabilis domini et patris Savarici in pleno capitulo ipsius ecclesiae anno 1201 in crastino beati Andreae apostoli."

R. i. f. 42, 49.

R. iii. f. 384. Sutton, R. i. f. 24, R. iii. f. 369.

[c] R. iii. f. 381. The abbot of Bec paid 4 marcs yearly. Cf. Diceto, i. 16.

[d] R. i. f. 28.

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the church of Wells, and he solemnly gives power to the chapter of Wells, in his absence, of excommunicating all such offenders.

The words of this charter anticipate an immediate and continued absence from his see, on account of urgent and distracting affairs requiring his presence in distant lands: "quia nos exigentibus negotiis interdum ad multa distrahimur, et praeter voluntatem nostram in locis remotioribus demoramur concessimus (ut non expectata praesentia nostra) liberam licentiam excommunicationis in eos sententiam promulgandi."

This charter of 1203 is the last notice in point of time of his presence at Wells. With these words, so characteristic of his erratic life and imperious disposition, he takes his leave of his see, bequeathing to the chapter of his cathedral church this power of excommunication as their weapon of defence against their enemies.

So Savaric, the "malleus monachorum," disappears from our sight. We know nothing of his last years, 1204-5, except his death in a foreign land—at Senes la Vieille[a]—either Siena or Civita Vecchia—Aug. 8, 1205, and his burial at Bath.[b]

There is no mention in the registers of any gifts made by Savaric towards the fabric of the church of Wells, or of work done by him.

Considering his long absence from the diocese, the heavy charges upon the revenues of the see in payment of Richard's ransom, and the expenses incurred at Rome by his litigation, it is not likely that Savaric should have been a builder of the church.

One charter there is, quoted in the foregoing paper,[c] the date of which has been assigned with probability to the year 1196, which contains a gift towards "the new work," and "the reparation of the chapel of the blessed Virgin." At that date, as we have seen, Savaric was abroad acting as chancellor of Burgundy to the emperor Henry. It is very doubtful whether he had been in his diocese since his consecration. If work was then going on, it is probable that the dean and canons were carrying out bishop Reginald's design. But the ransom of Richard, the prodigality of Savaric, and the troubles of his episcopate, would have crippled also the resources of the canons of Wells; and all building, both

[a] So Wharton. A. S. i. 563. Senes la Vieille = Civita Vecchia, *Glossary to Benedict*, ii. 114. Howd. iii. 40. Senes la Vieille,= Siena. *idem* ii. 229. Howd. iv. 25

[b] So Godwin, p. 442, ed. Richardson.

[c] Vide paper in *Archaeologia*, on bishop Reginald, vol. L. p. 329.

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at Glastonbury and at Wells, was most probably suspended while the litigation was going on.

The weighty condemnation of Savaric's government followed quickly upon his death in the memorials to the papal see which have been quoted.

The lighter satire upon his life, by the wits of the Roman chancellery where he was so well known, appears in the gloss to that same canon in the decretals of Gregory IX. by which Innocent's decision in the Glastonbury appeal became a ruling precedent in canon law.[a]

Two sayings current about him at Rome strike at his extravagance and debts, and at his restless and unsettled life.

His debts were so notorious, yet his English credit, it would appear, so good, that one could make his prayer that he might have shares among the creditors of Savaric, whose name was legion.

One bill of Savaric's foreign debts still remains to us among the documents at Wells—a power of attorney granted by Speronus de Campomoldo, of Placentia, to Rufinus Molinarius to demand 87½ marcs from the bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, for which the late bishop Savaric had given security. This document, dated Monday, March 9, 8th indiction, A.D. 1219, in the major ecclesia of Placentia, must have been presented to Jocelin soon after he had resigned the abbey.

The other epigram on his wandering life Godwin has published as if it was the epitaph on his tomb at Bath.[b]

> "Hospes erat mundo per mundum semper eundo
> Sic suprema dies fit sibi prima quies."

Savaric has hitherto only appeared as the ambitious and worldly prelate

[a] Gregory's *Decretals*, iii. tit. ix. c. 1. "De illo episcopo nomini Savarico dixit quidam versificator," "Hospes erat mundo, &c." "Item dum describerentur debita sua dixit quidam alius, Domine me pone creditorem in legione, id est in societate multorum creditorum quos moriens reliquit episcopus."

[b] Godwin de praesulibus, Lat. Ed. 1616. "Bathoniae sepultus cum epitaphio." He omits "the epitaph" in the English edition.

Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. L. p. 335. I have quoted these lines again because I have now found their source and original text in a gloss upon the Decretals of Gregory IX. The absurd statement of Godwin that the lines of a Roman "pasquinade" formed the epitaph on Savaric's tomb at Bath may be set aside. I take the opportunity of adding the admirable translation given to me by my friend and colleague chancellor Bernard, whose help in many ways I thankfully acknowledge—

> "Through the world travelling, all the world's guest,
> His last day of life was his first day of rest."

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grasping at power. There are acts of his later episcopate which represent him in a different light, as seeking to make his peace with the world:

(*a.*) He was the first of the bishops of Wells who gave definite expression to that peculiar form of religious worship which was beginning to occupy such a disproportionate place in the services of the church, the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin. He instituted a daily mass in the church of Wells in honour of the Blessed Virgin;[a]

(*b.*) He also was the first known to set the fashion which became so common in the church of Wells, as everywhere, of making endowments to obtain intercessory prayers from the living for the dead, and so providing by requiem masses, obits, and chantries for a perpetual memorial of the donors.

He instituted a daily mass for his predecessors in the see, the benefactors to the church, and the faithful departed, with a payment of 10*l.* a-year to the chaplain. By another charter[b] he made over to the canons the church of Pilton charged with the payment to two priests, who were to celebrate daily for his soul, and for his predecessors, and on his obit, or anniversary day, 100 poor were to be fed, and distribution to be made to all who were present on the occasion.

Perhaps we may read between the lines of this legal document the act of repentance and the would-be acts of expiation and atonement, according to his view, of the worn-out man of the world after his wanderings, nor are they without some interest as early expressions of the popular theology of the time.[c]

In spite of much that must have offended Jocelin in the character and ways of Savaric, he appears to have found something good in him, for which he could in some way support his policy in his life, and could follow his footsteps in his own episcopate.

One of bishop Jocelin's first acts was to institute, or confirm by a fresh ordinance, that the service of the Blessed Virgin should be daily sung in the church of Wells,[d] and that a requiem should be sung daily for bishop Savaric and all benefactors of the church in the chapel of St. Martin, near the font—that chapel in the eastern aisle of the south transept, near to which still stands the ancient font, the only relic of the Norman or pre-Norman church.

In 1535 the sum of 6*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* was still paid, according to bishop Jocelin's ordinance, for a "missa de requiem jam vulgariter nuncupata 'Martyn's masse'"

[a] R. i. f. 46. [b] R. i. f. 23, *in dors.* [c] Vide Appendix D.

[d] R. iii. 127, A.D. 1206, three priests, thirteen vicars to celebrate in turn.

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daily, by six vicars choral, on behalf of the souls of bishop Savaric, his successors, and all benefactors of the church.[a]

(*c.*) There is yet another charter of great local importance, and of general interest as one of the series of charters by which the civil liberties of the borough of Wells were gradually obtained by the concessions of its lords, the bishops of the see.

Savaric, following in the steps of Reginald, confirms to the citizens previous charters granting the freedom from tolls on markets held within the borough on certain days, and the right of the borough magistrates of trying causes not specially reserved for the courts of the lord.

One more fair-day was appointed by Savaric, the anniversary of the dedication of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at the entrance to the town on the Glastonbury road, the morrow of the festival of St. John the Baptist. This charter has a peculiar interest topographically, inasmuch as the boundaries of the borough are marked out by lines which are still traceable as nearly conterminous with the limits of the municipal borough of Wells of the present time.[b]

Following upon the charter of bishop Savaric is the first *royal* charter given to the borough of Wells, obtained through Savaric's favour with king John, who himself was a frequent visitor in Somerset—and to Wells and Glastonbury.[c] It confirms the previous charters of the bishops, and adds another fair-day by royal authority, viz., an eight days' fair on the "Translation of St. Andrew," May 7.[d]

It is pleasant to take leave of Savaric with the recollection that, whatever may have been his failings and shortcomings, offences and scandals as a bishop, however little he may have added to the fabric of the church, he has taken his place in the civil history of Wells as one of "the first three" who, with Robert and Reginald, gave the start and direction to the growth and progress of the civil liberties of our borough of Wells.

[a] *Wells MS. Ledger D.* f. 30. St. Martin's chapel has been used for long years as the "Canons Vestry."

[b] Appendix E. This charter and that of king John are carefully preserved among the city records in the town hall of Wells, and have been kindly lent to me by the Mayor and Council.

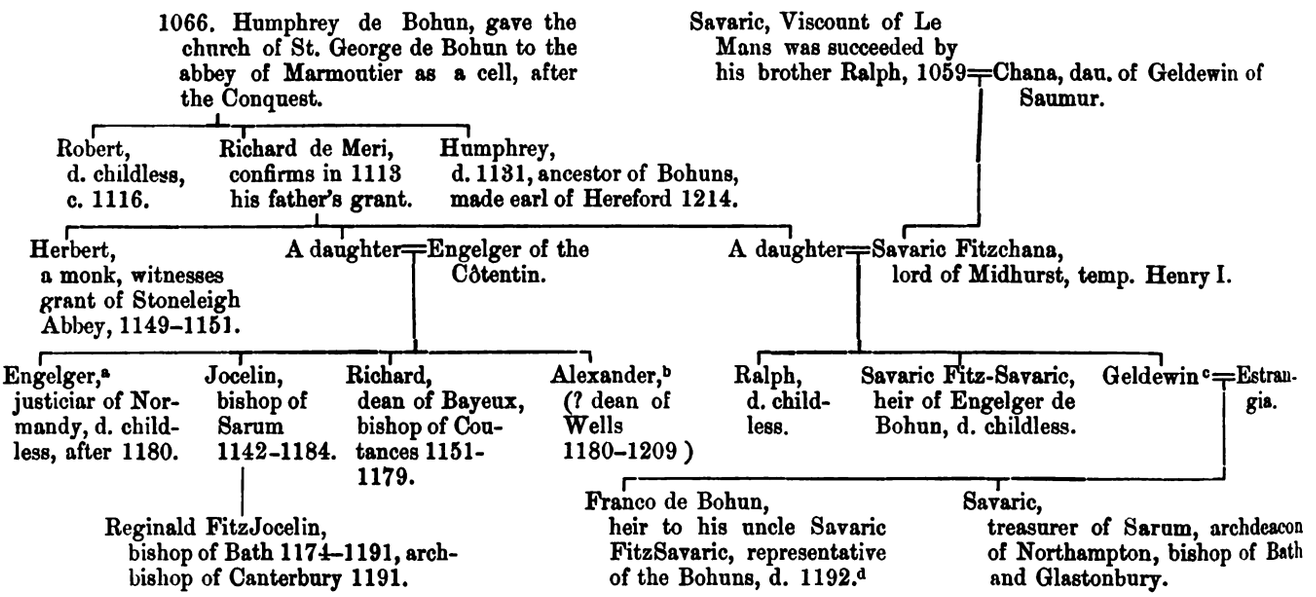
[c] Vide *King John's Itinerary.* He was at Wells and Glastonbury, 1204, June 15, 17; 1205, Sept. 3, 5; 1207, Sept. 13; 1208, March 3, 4. *Archaeologia*, vol. XXII. pp. 138, 9.

[d] Appendix F.

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APPENDIX A.

FAMILY OF BISHOPS REGINALD AND SAVARIC.



[a] W. FitzStephen, *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. p. 129, calls Engelger "patruus Jocelini Episcopi." Bishop Stubbs suggests there may be a mistake for "Reginaldi." Engelger held lands in S. Marculf in 1180. Vide Rotuli Scac. Norman. Lechaud D'Anisy, Caen, 1840.

[b] An Alexander was dean during Reginald's and Savaric's time, 1180—1209. Roger de Bohun, "nephew of the dean," is mentioned as canon of Wells, anno 1205. *Rot. Litt. Clausarum*, pp. 52, 56, 63, 67. Another John de Bohun was also canon in Savaric's time, 1196. Adam of Domerham, pp. 368, 387.

[c] *Pat. Rolls*, 35 Edw. III. contains inspeximus of 1 Ric. I. and Henry III. in which mention is made of (*a*) "Savaricus filius Savarici heres Engelgeri de Bohun." (*b*) "Savaricus filius Chana et Radulfus filius ejus, et Savaricus filius Savarici." (*c*) "Geldewinus filius Savarici."

Cf. also Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, i. 561, 6th Henry II. "Geldewinus filius Savarici."

It is conjectured by bishop Stubbs that there was a Burgundian connection with the emperor Henry through Estrangia, mother of bishop Savaric.

[d] Annal. Waverley, ii. 248

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APPENDIX B.

Sequence of events in Savaric's life, and in the annexation of the abbey of Glastonbury to the see of Bath.

Vide Adam of Domerham, pp. 357-425.

Savaric at Rome, consecrated bishop September 20th.	1192.
Savaric at Hagenau in Alsace obtains from king Richard consent to the exchange of Bath city for Glastonbury abbey, and union of the churches of Bath and Glastonbury under him as bishop of Bath and Glastonbury.	1193. April.
Obtains letters from Richard, archbishop Hubert, and bishop William of Ely, to pope Celestine petitioning for papal sanction.	
Savaric with Richard at Worms in June is named as one of the hostages for payment of his ransom.	June.
Abbot Henry vacates Glastonbury; is consecrated bishop of Worcester at Canterbury.	Decemb. 12.
Savaric at Bath sends for prior Harold, tells him that he is their abbot. (?)	Decemb. 8.
Ralph de Lechlade in the name of Savaric takes possession of the abbey by royal warrant.	Conception B.V.M.
The monks lodge a protest and notice of appeal to the pope on the altar of St. Andrew, Wells.	
Richard is released at Mainz.	Feb. 2. 1194.
Richard is crowned at Winchester.	April 27.
Savaric is Chancellor of Burgundy to the emperor Henry VI.	
Prior Harold appeals to the king at Winchester. He is put off by bishop of Ely, who bids the monks await the pope's decision.	Easter-tide.
The monks send another deputation to Richard in Normandy, are favourably received. Richard revokes his grant, obtained when he was in durance, dispossesses Savaric, and places the abbey in the hands of his prothonotary, William of St. Marychurch.	"1st autumn after abbot Henry's consecration." Feast of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24.
"In quadragesima sequenti, secundo videlicet anno post promotionem Henrici in episcopum," Savaric at Tours receives pope Celestine's sanction to the union of Bath and Glastonbury and assumes title.	Lent. 1195.
Savaric obtains from the pope (1) A second mandate. (2) Letters of inhibition addressed to the convent. (3) Mandate of execution to archbishop Hubert, issued by pope Celestine, dated in three documents, May, June, "pontificatus anno sexto, MCXCVI, anno indictionis xiv." (pp. 364, 6, 7).	1196.
The papal letters are publicly read in the convent by Savaric's agents from the chapter of	

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1197. Wells. And "completis jam tribus annis et parum amplius post promotionem Henrici in Episcopum," Savaric is inducted a second time.

Feb. 5 or 6. "Die sequenti," the convent send a deputation to the archbishop to protest. He rebukes them for their supineness in not having followed up their appeal to Rome. "Vos vultis somniando negotia vestra perficere, sed Savaricus episcopus non dormit"—'he, by his authority, had hitherto kept Savaric from possession.'

Savaric is sent to England by the emperor Henry to make restitution to Richard. The emperor dies while Savaric is on the journey.

Octob. 16. Savaric is with Richard at Rouen.

November 18. modicum post Octavas S. Martini Nov. 18. Archbishop Hubert forced to act upon the papal mandate, orders obedience to the proctors of Savaric, who with the dean of Wells and others of the chapter of Wells take possession in Savaric's name, and the king's officers withdraw. "Acta sunt hæc anno quarto post promotionem Henrici in Episcopum Wigorniensem" (p. 370).

1198. Pope Celestine dies January 8, 1198. Innocent III. succeeds.

Savaric in England during part of the year.

Aug. 29, in festo decollationis S. Johannis. Monks sent to complain to Richard in Normandy, bring back royal letters to the king's justiciars ordering them to take possession of the convent in the king's name, which is so done.

Sept. 8. Dean of Wells and prior of Bruton protest in Savaric's name before the convent.

Sept. 29. William Pica returning from Rome directs the convent to send a deputation to meet him in Normandy, to approach the king.

October. Savaric is appointed one of Richard's envoys to arrange matters with Geoffrey archbishop of York.

November. The monks bring back letters from Richard dated Roche d'Andeli, Oct. 29, giving licence to elect their own abbot, and letters to the pope Innocent III. and to the cardinals urging dissolution of the union.

Circa Octavas S. Martini. Nov. 25. The convent send a deputation to London with the king's letters, "and in scaccario regis" elect William Pica abbot, Nov. 25.

Savaric from the manor of Mells excommunicates William Pica and his supporters, and puts the convent under interdict. He is sent to Rome on Richard's affairs.

Decemb. 6. William Pica rules as abbot from Dec. 6, 1198, to the Purification, Feb. 2, 1199.

1199. Jan. 25. Conversion of S. Paul. Savaric's agents from Wells lay violent hands in the church of Glastonbury upon the leaders of the opposition and carry them off to prison in Wells.

William Pica goes to Rome.

Savaric and the abbot plead against one another before Innocent, at Rome.

Thursday before Easter. The dean of Wells and prior of Bruton proclaim the archbishop's interdict and excommunication of the abbot and convent for disobedience to the pope's letters of inhibition.

Easter. The convent submit and pray for absolution.

1st Sunday after Easter. The abbots of Sherborne and Abbotsbury in the archbishop's name absolve the convent.

The abbots of Malmesbury and Evesham receive the confession and profession of the convent and administer correction.

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Richard's death.	1199.
Savaric returns to England.	April 6.
John's coronation at Westminster. Savaric assists.	May 27. Ascension-Day.
Savaric obtains the king's mandate for installation.	
Savaric is installed in person at Glastonbury by commissioners appointed by archbishop Hubert. He takes possession of the abbey, and forces all the members of the convent to act in obedience to him as abbot.	June 8. Whitsunday.
Savaric is with John in Normandy.	July, August, September.
Savaric probably at Rome in winter.	Winter.
Innocent is adjudicating on the Glastonbury quarrel—removes Savaric's sentence of excommunication of William Pica, inhibits Savaric from further acts of violence—annuls William Pica's election—confirms the union of the see and abbey—appoints a commission to arbitrate and to make award between Savaric and the convent.	1200. June 23. Aug. 22.
William Pica dies at Rome.	Sept. 3.
John's marriage with Isabella of Angoulême—second coronation at Westminster.	October 8.
John is at Lincoln.	November.
Savaric present with the court at Lincoln, at the homage of William the Lion, and at the burial of St. Hugh.	„ 23rd. „ 25th.
Innocent orders the convent to obey Savaric as their bishop "et specialiter tanquam proprio pastore."[a] Savaric at Wells, grants charter to the city, which John confirms and enlarges by royal charter.	1201. April 21. xii. kal. Maii.
Innocent sends a second mandate to the commissioners to hold their court.	1202. June 9.
Another letter from Innocent to the commissioners reporting gravamina of convent against Savaric and urging investigation of charges.	August 29.
Report of the commissioners and award of the pope.	Septemb. 24. viii. kal. Oct.
"Prima ordinatio ecclesiae Glastoniensis facta auctoritate domini Innocentii III."	
Savaric at Wells—makes grants to the chapter—in anticipation of his absence gives authority to the chapter to excommunicate all invaders of the rights of the chapter.	1203. Octave of St. Michael.
Dies at Senes la Vielle—either Siena, or Civita Vecchia.	Aug. 8, 1205.

[a] *i.e.*, as their diocesan and ordinary—also as their abbot.

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APPENDIX C.

Gifts of bishop Savaric to the church of Bath.

Vide *Registrum Prioratus Bathon.* (p. 315).

Savaricus episcopus hujus loci, omnes terras nostras a praedecessoribus suis nobis restitutas, omnes etiam ecclesias nobis in usus proprios ad eisdem concessas, affectuose confirmavit et etiam a summo pontifice confirmari procuravit. Praeterea ecclesiam de Chyw ad jus patronatus sui spectantem nobis in usus proprios contulit et confirmavit, ecclesiam etiam de Westoñ injuste a quibusdam alienatam nobis reddidit et in usus proprios nobis confirmavit et a summo pontifice utramque ecclesiam de Chyw videlicet et de Westoñ in usus nobis proprios confirmari procuravit, ecclesiam nihilominus de Comptona Fulconis de Alneto nobis in usus proprios confirmavit—duas capas decenter ornatas nobis contulit. Cum autem in redemptione regis Ricardi omnes thesauri exhaurirentur ecclesiarum, de ratione propria textus cruces et calices nostros ne conflarentur acquietavit. Cujus anniversaria dies in albis celebretur et C pauperes reficiantur et mensa fratrum copiosius procuretur.

APPENDIX D.

Institution of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin.

R. 1, f. 46.clxxix. iii. f. 136 in dors.

Savaricus Dei gratia Bathon. et Glaston. episcopus.

Omnibus fidelibus per episcopatum suum constitutis salutem et benedictionem. Quum in multis offendimus omnes, et sine peccato praesens vita non agitur, necessaria habemus sanctorum suffragia ut quum nostris excessibus incessanter affligimur, eorum apud Deum intercessionibus sublevemur.

Inter omnes autem sanctos memoria dei genetricis eo jocundius agitur quo pro fidelibus sedula creditur interventrix existere, et apud Deum majorem noscitur gratiam obtinere.

Desiderantes itaque inter hujus mundi tam varia pericula ipsius patrociniis communiri, communicato capituli Wellensis consilio provida deliberatione statuimus, ut in ecclesia ipsa continua ejusdem dei genetricis virginis habeatur memoria, et in ejus veneratione missa diebus singulis solemniter celebretur.

Alteram praeterea missam pro praedecessoribus nostris episcopis, fratribus quoque et benefactoribus ipsius ecclesiae, cunctisque fidelibus defunctis, in eadem ecclesia providimus diebus omnibus specialiter celebrandam ut sacramentis salutaribus expiati superis sedibus celerius inserantur.

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APPENDIX E.

Charter of bishop Savaric to the town of Wells.

Circiter 1201.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit.

Savaricus Dei gratia Bathoniae et Glastoniae Episcopus salutem in domino. Quum in praeterito cognovimus praedecessores nostros a multis retro temporibus in augmentum honoris, dignitatis, et reddituum suorum et omnium sibi succedentium, concessisse burgensibus nostris de Wellis jure perpetuo libertates et omnes liberas consuetudines burgensium et burgorum plenariis libertatibus gaudentium, Nos eorum vestigiis inhaerentes, considerantes etiam, et cum diligentia attendentes honestam et plurimum laudabilem eorum fuisse intentionem quod circa statum burgi illius meliorandum et in libertatem majorem provehendum habuisse dinoscuntur, libertates omnes et liberas consuetudines burgensium et burgorum qui plenarias habeant libertates burgo de Wellis et burgensibus universis et singulis infra terminos subscriptos mansionem habentibus plene et integre concessimus in perpetuum, statuentes etiam et jure perpetuo concedentes ut totum territorium subscriptum liberum sit burgum et plenariis ut diximus gaudeat libertatibus—a parte quidem australi, aqua decurrente a molendino et ab angulo virgulti nostri per quoddam vetus fossatum usque pratum de Hela—a prato illo per quendam rivulum usque ad pontem de Kiward—a ponte illo sicut aqua de Wellis defluit usque pontem qui in ingressu villae prope capellam beati Thomae martyris—a parte occidentali, cruce olim sita in via qua itur ad Axebrugge—a parte septentrionali, cruce olim sita qua itur Bristoldum—a parte orientali, via quae praetenditur a lapidicina usque ad montem versus Tidesput[a] per pomerium nostrum. Volumus etiam et praesenti decreto sancimus ut quilibet intra easdem metas messagium aliquid in presentiarum possidens vel in posterum possessurus liberam habeat licentiam commorandi et cum catallis suis recedendi necnon et revertendi. Liceat quoque cuilibet burgensium domos suas impignorare vendere sive etiam donare secundum perpetuam dispositionis suae voluntatem, plenamque habeant facultatem eas in quemcunque eis placuit transferendi praeterquam domibus religiosis, quod facere non poterunt sine licentia nostra vel successorum nostrorum, retento nobis annuo redditu duodecim denariorum de singulis messagiis.

Concedimus itaque ut si lis aliqua forte damnosa infra ambitum messagii alicujus eorum emerserit, liberam habeant potestatem ut advicem concordes fiant in curia sua, justitia nostra in nulla exigente consuetudinem vel emendationem donec burgenses in justitia defecerint, nisi mortale vulnus vel damnum perpetuum corpori inflictum fuerit; salva in omnibus justitia et dignitate domini regis et regni.

Inhibemus autem ne aliquis in eodem burgo pelles crudas aut coria cruda emere presumat nisi fuerit in luna et laga burgensium Wellensium. Statuimus etiam et in perpetuum concedimus ut quicunque illic in quatuor festivitatibus quacunque negotiationis causa convenerint, scilicet in inventione Sanctae Crucis, in festivitate Sancti Kalixti, in festivitate Sancti Andreae, in die anni-

[a] "Tidesput." Cf. Reg. Prioratus Bathon. f. 67, inspeximus of charter of bishop Roger, 1245, of lands "in manerio nostro de Wellis in Tithesput furlang qui jacet intra terram Roberti le Sedere et terram Thom. fil Sode super cheminam versus gardinum nostrum de Wellis ex parte orientali."

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versario dedicationis capellae beati Thomae Martyris, qui est dies crastina Sancti Joannis Baptistae, in plateis burgi illius negotiationes suas fecerint, et ab omni prava consuetudine et inquietudine et molestia et exactione liberi exerceant, et nullatenus ecclesiam Wellensem et atrium ecclesiae negotiaturi intrare vel violare praesumat. Concedentes et in perpetuum statuentes ut omnes ibi convenientes quieti sint in perpetuo de teloneo in omnibus praedictis festivitatibus et earum vigiliis et crastino earumdem, ut per triduum illa gaudeant libertate in singulis festivitatibus supra nominatis. Et quod haec omnia rata et firma perseverent ea praesenti carta nostra et sigillo nostro et ecclesiae nostrae Wellensis duximus confirmanda.

Hujus testibus: Alexandro decano Wellensi · Gaufrido archidiacono Berkescire · Thoma subdecano Wellensi · Magistro Radulpho de Lichel · Magistro Rogero de Doveliz cancellario Wellensi. Johanne Camel · Roberto de Essio · Hugo de Wellis, clericis nostris · Radulpho de Auio seneschallo nostro · Willelmo filio Ricardi · Alan de S. Georgio · Radulpho Teissun · Gileberto · Helia filio Ricardi · Hugone de fontibus · Willelmo de Banwell · Et multis aliis clericis quam laicis.

Seal: small oval in green wax.

Device: figure of bishop.

Legend: SAVA[RICVS ꝓPISCOPVS BATh]ON. [ꝺT GLAS]TON.

Another seal in bag.

The boundaries in Savaric's charter are marked—

I. On the south (a) by the watercourse from the bishop's mill, and from the angle of the bishop's withy-bed, running down an old cut[a] to Helesmead;

(b) thence by the stream-course to Keward bridge on the Glastonbury road;

(c) up the Wells stream (*i.e.* the water from St. Andrew's well) to the bridge by the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, at the entrance of the town.

II. On the west—by the cross on the road to Axbridge, *i.e.* Little Elm, at the point of divergence of the road to Wookey and Axbridge.

III. On the north—by the cross on the road to Bristol.

IV. On the east—by the road from a quarry (under Stobery) to the hill towards Tidesput through the bishop's ground (*i.e.* the Tor hill).

[a] Fossatum, an artificial channel, such as a moat.

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APPENDIX F.

Charter of king John to the town of Wells. 1201.

Johannes dei gratia &c.—Sciatis nos concessisse et praesenti carta confirmasse quod Welles in Sumerset sit liberum burgum, et quod homines ejusdem villae et heredes eorum liberi sint burgenses et quod ibi liberum sit mercatum singulis dominicis diebus sicut ibi est et esse consuevit, et liberae feriae sicut annuatim ibi esse solent, in festo beati Andreae, beati Calixti, in Inventione Sanctae Crucis, in crastino beati Johannis Baptistae, et praeterea una feria de dono nostro singulis annis in translatione beati Andreae per octo dies duratura, infra vicos ejusdem burgi in locis quibus praedicta feria beati Andreae ibidem teneri consuevit, nisi sit ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum. Quare volumus et firmiter praecipimus quod praedicta villa de Welles liberum burgum sit et omnes homines ejusdem villae et heredes eorum liberi burgenses sint in perpetuum, et quod habeant praedictum liberum mercatum et praedictas ferias quae ibi esse solent, et de dono nostro praedictam feriam per octo dies duraturam, et quod ipsi et heredes eorum habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines liberi burgi et liberorum burgensium et ad hujusmodi mercatum et ferias pertinentes bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et honorifice in perpetuum. Volumus etiam quod ipsi et eorum res et possessiones sint in manu, custodia, et protectione nostra, prohibentes ne quis eos vel heredes eorum contra hanc cartam nostram vexet vel disturbet super forisfacturam[a] nostram.

Testibus: Willelmo Marescallo Comite de Pembroc · Willelmo Comite Sarisburiensi · Willelmo de Rupibus seneschallo Andegavensi · Stephano de Pertico · Gerard de Fornivall · Warino filio Geroldi · Petro de Stok · Fulco de Cantelupo · Roberto de Plesseto.

Datum per manum Simonis Wellensis archidiaconi apud Chinonem septima die Septembris anno regni nostri tertio.

Seal gone. Green tags remaining.

[a] "The king's right of enforcing demands."

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APPENDIX G.

A tradition at Wells has assigned to Savaric a pastoral staff and a pontifical ring which were found in a stone coffin dug up in the western burial ground of the cathedral church at the beginning of this century, in the time of Dean Lukin, 1799—1812.

The staff is exactly 12 inches high, and consists of three parts: (a) the crook; (b) the knot; (c) the neck; the whole being of copper-gilt and enamelled. (Plate IV.) The crook is formed of the body and head of a serpent; the scales are filled with dark-blue enamel, and a serrated crest runs along the outside of the curve. Inside the crook is a winged figure, probably St. Michael, striking a spear into the body of a two-legged lizard or wingless dragon, whose tail runs through the snake forming the crook and terminates in foliage. The dragon's body is set on either side with seven turquoises, and the eyes are, like those of all the figures on the crozier-head, formed of some dark stones, seemingly garnets. Both the serpent and the dragon have the heads so formed as to show a face on each side of the crook. The junction of the crook and knot is masked by a bold indented cresting, once set with turquoises. The knot is a flattened circular boss of gilt copper with a casing of open-work formed of six wingless dragons like that inside the crook, three above and as many below, each biting the tail of the one preceding, an ornate belt dividing the two groups.

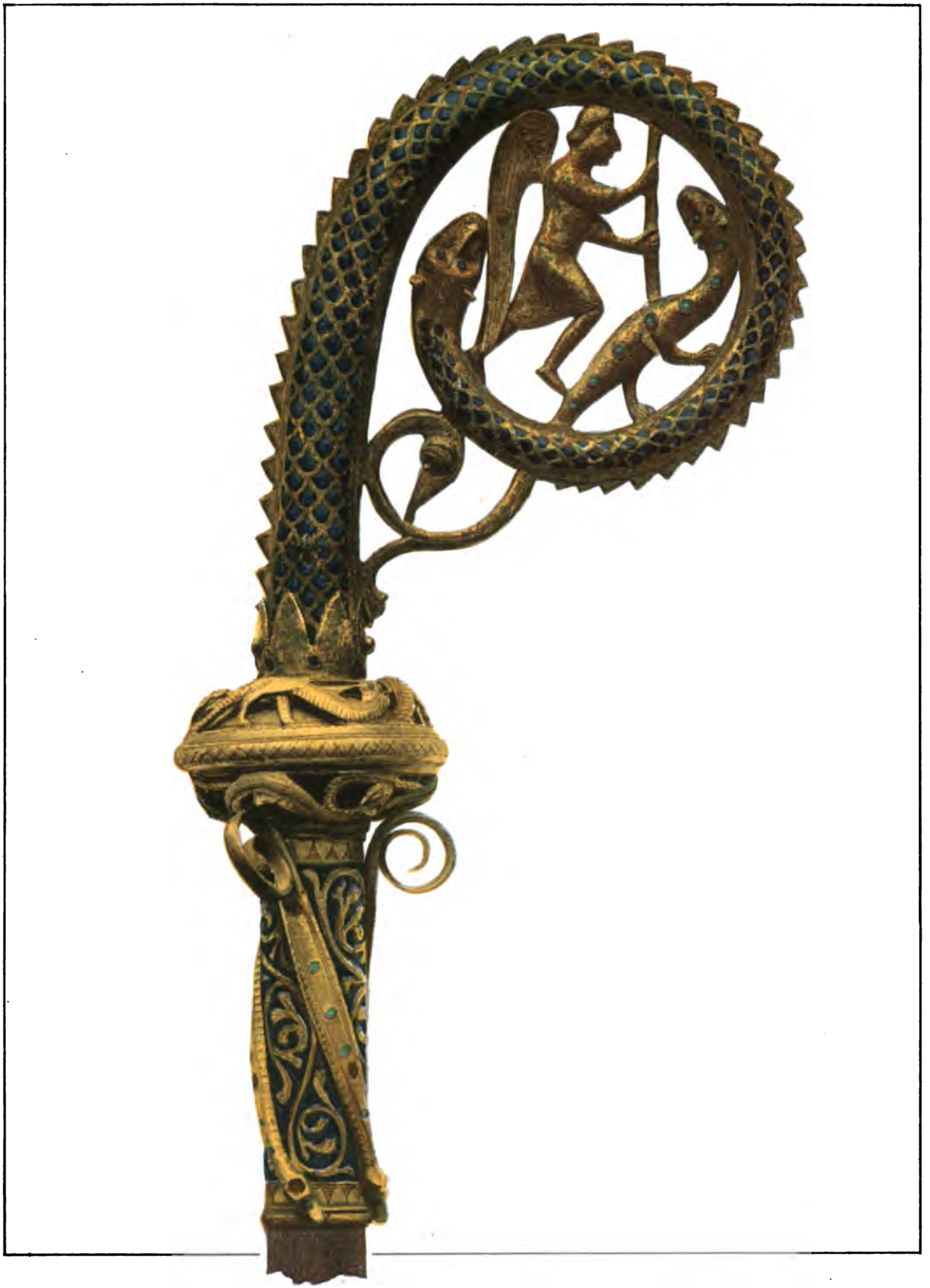
The neck of the crozier-head is four inches long, ornamented with beautiful scroll-work of conventional foliage on a field of dark blue enamel. This is divided lengthways and slightly spirally by the bodies of three serpents, heads downwards and their tails curving outwards under the knob. The serpents are gilt, and have each five turquoises on the back and garnets for eyes. The whole of the work is of excellent character, and still in very good preservation. The crozier-head was put together in 1834, under the advice and assistance of Mr. Douce and Mr. Gage, then Director of the Society, before which it was exhibited on February 6th of that year. The wooden staff to which it is now fixed, and the bronze ferrule, made after one in Mr. Douce's possession, were added by Mr. Willement.

There is no historical ground for the tradition that it belonged to Savaric. The workmanship and similarity of pattern to many other croziers of bishops of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries probably gave occasion for the assumption.

The peculiarities of the pontifical ring, a massive gold ring with a pale uncut ruby, do not help to fix the date.

There is a certain irony in ascribing this crozier to the bishop who was distinguished by his absence from his see, and who, according to Godwin, was buried not at Wells but at Bath. But a dean and chapter may see a fitting reason in retaining the tradition and claiming the relics as heirlooms of the deanery, when they bear in mind that Savaric was the bishop who left to his chapter in his absence the formidable weapon of power of excommunication over all enemies and invaders of their rights.

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HEAD OF A CROZIER FOUND AT WELLS.

(½ *linear*).

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V.—*Bibliographical Notes on the English Translation of Polydore Vergil's work, "De Inventoribus Rerum."* By Professor JOHN FERGUSON, *M.A., LL.D.*

Read June 16, 1887.

1. CONSIDERING how characteristic of this century are the development of invention and the application of discoveries in pure science to every-day uses, the history of invention, and the comparison of recent advances with those in the past, ought to be interesting and instructive. For the materials for such a narrative and such a comparison the historian has to depend on what remains of the practical works of former times, on allusions to their uses by contemporary writers, on early descriptions of the arts, on collections of technical receipts, and especially on the labours of previous historians, who—perhaps under great disadvantages—have already laboriously brought together some of the needed material and have begun the record. Among the most distinguished pioneers of such historical inquiry stands Polydore Vergil.

2. Although no longer authoritative, Vergil's work, *De Inventoribus Rerum*, is still full of interest. It appeals to the historian of inventions and of customs by being the first on the subject; to the archaeologist, by its contents and their free treatment; to the bibliographer, by its own history, by the number of its editions, and by the variations some of them display; and to the book-lover, by the rarity and value of copies, especially of the English and early Latin editions, though, indeed, it would be more correct to say of all the editions and translations. They are all scarce, some of them extremely so.

3. To this work my attention was attracted some time ago, partly for the reasons just stated, but partly also by my having seen a number of the editions, which led me to examine the bibliography of it more carefully than I might otherwise have done, and partly by the inadequate descriptions of the English editions given by Ames and others, which, at the time, I attempted to amend. Since then

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I have had the opportunity of examining all the English editions (as I believe), and the present paper aims at giving a detailed account of them, so as to complete what I have already said on the subject.[a]

4. It may be premised that Polidoro Vergilio, or Polydore Vergil, was an Italian, born at Urbino about 1470, and was educated at Bologna. He seems to have had a strong bent towards literary and historical research, and he studied subjects which at his time were comparatively neglected. His first literary performance was a commendatory epistle prefixed to an edition of the *Cornucopie* of Nicolaus Perottus, which appeared in folio in 1496, as well as to that which followed in 1498.[b]

5. His first separate work was a collection of proverbs, the first of its kind. It was printed at Venice in 1498 by Christopher de Pensis, in a small quarto volume of seventy leaves. A second edition by De Pensis appeared in 1500, and several others followed.[c]

In 1499 De Pensis at Venice printed his second work, *De Inventoribus Rerum*, of which some account is given below.

[a] See "Bibliographical Notes on Histories of Inventions and Books of Secrets," Parts II. and III. in *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Glasgow*, vol. ii. 1883, pp. 232-242; and, New Series, vol. i. 1886, pp. 195-199. The present paper has grown out of these and is supplemental to them.

[b] The *Cornucopie*, a commentary on the *De Spectaculis* and first book of the Epigrams of Martial, was published in 1489 by the nephew of Perottus, though Vergil gets the credit of having collated it with a MS. and corrected it (Ellis's Preface, p. xix.) Of this work there were several editions. That of 1496 was printed at Venice by Joannes de Tridino, who afterwards printed editions both of the *Proverbs* and of the *History of Inventions* of Vergil himself. In the British Museum are copies of the 1496 and 1498 editions. That of 1496 is the finer book. The other omits certain addresses and verses, and is a quite inferior reprint by Ulrich Scinzenzeler at Milan.

Perottus fills a place in the history of classical and Italian learning; for details reference may be made to Niceron, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1729, ix. p. 374; Heeren, *Geschichte des Studiums der classischen Litteratur*, Göttingen, 1801, ii. pp. 272-74; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, 1809, vi. p. 1099; Graesse, *Literärgeschichte*, Dresden, 1843, II. iii. pp. 695-97; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, Berlin, 1881, ii. 134. Portraits of Perottus are given by Paulus Jovius, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basil., 1577, p. 22; and by Freher, *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, Norib., 1688, plate 2, and p. 21.

[c] A copy of the first edition is in my own possession, and I have seen besides the editions of Venice, 1500; Argent. 1511; Basil. 1521, 1525, 1550. In the British Museum Catalogue there are twelve editions; in the collection at Keir there are five, *Catalogue*, 1860, p. 100. The 1511 copy is in Sir William Hamilton's collection in the University Library, Glasgow. It is not in the British Museum or at Keir, and I do not remember noticing it in other lists.

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6. In 1501 Vergil came to England as sub-collector of Peter's Pence. Having ingratiated himself with those in authority, he was advanced to various offices in the Church, was eventually naturalized, and so identified himself with the country of his adoption that he speaks of it as "nostra Anglia." He spent most of his life in England.

7. About 1505* he was requested by king Henry VII. to write a history of England. He entered upon this undertaking with the intention of making it thorough. He took abundance of time, consulted every available source of information, and worked up his materials deliberately. He was engaged for eight-and-twenty years upon it; the dedication to king Henry VIII. is dated London, August 1533, and the book was printed at Basel, by Bebelius, and published in 1534. It forms a handsome folio.

It was re-published frequently in the sixteenth century. There is an old translation into English, of which portions were edited by Sir Henry Ellis for the Camden Society, and published in 1844, 1846, with biographical prefaces. As there seems to be no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, the following description from the copy in the library of the University of Glasgow may be of use:—

Title: Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI. Symon Grynaevs Lectori. [*8 Latin hexameters.*] [*Printer's device of a palm-tree, with the words:* Palma Beb.] *Indices rerum singularum copiosos & usui egregio futuros, adiecimus.* Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæsareo. Basileae, apvd Io. Bebelivm Anno M.D.XXXIIII.

Folio, in sixes. Title, 1 leaf. a 2, dedication to Henry VIII. The text begins on a 3, not paged, and ends E e 6, p. 610. Index, F f to I i 6 recto, 24 leaves in all. On the reverse of the last leaf the palm-tree is repeated. The first page of the dedication, and the first page of the text, are enclosed in curious grotesque woodcut borders.

8. During this long period, however, he was not occupied with the history alone. His life was busy both with ecclesiastical and political affairs, and he was not left in ignorance of the changes of fortune which most men—not least those in prominent places—experience. It says much for his energy and perseverance that throughout all vicissitudes he still retained enthusiasm for historical investigation. While working at his history of England he wrote some smaller tracts,

* Writing in December 1517, he refers to twelve years having elapsed since he had begun the history.

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and in particular compiled five additional books on inventions nominally, but mainly on church history and antiquities, which, with the original three, were printed in 1521, by Froben.[a] He possibly revised the whole again for Bebelius, whose edition came out in 1532, two years prior to the history of England (§ 25). Vergil, I take it, had a strong partiality for his history of inventions.

9. In 1524, during his autumn vacation in the country,[b] he composed a short commentary on the Lord's Prayer, with the intention of bringing its meaning and value home to those who ran over it as a form, or as quickly as possible got through it as a hackneyed string of words. The remarks with which he prefaces this small work entitle him to be ranked as a reverent, sensible, and liberal-minded man. The epistle to bishop Fisher of Rochester, prefixed to the commentary, is dated: Nonis Nouembris, Londini, M.D.XXIIII.; and the commentary, so far as I know, appeared for the first time in the edition of the *Proverbs* and *Inventions*, printed by Froben, in 1525, pp. 248-255. It was often printed afterwards with the *Inventions*; it is contained, for example, in the editions of Basel, 1532, 1544, 1546, 1563, and 1570 in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; in Stoer's edition, 1604; in Zetzner's, Argent. 1606; in Italian, 1543, 1550. Ellis (p. ii. note *) quotes a statement that it was published separately about 1554, but I know of nothing which confirms this.

10. In 1525 he edited the work of Gildas for the first time, from a manuscript in his own possession, collated with one belonging to bishop Cuthbert Tunstall. The copy of this book which I have is a tiny square octavo, of 44 leaves in all. It is printed in italics, and is said to have issued from Pynson's press, but the volume itself has no printer's name, date, or place of printing. The epistle to Tunstall concludes: ad VIII. Iduum April. M.D.XXV. Londini. There are copies of this rare little volume in the British Museum and Bodleian.

11. In order of time, his next work was the dialogue *De Prodigiis*, in which he discusses all kinds of wonderful events, portents, monsters, and what not. The preface was addressed to Franciscus Maria, duke of Urbino, and is dated: Londini, XIII. Calendarum Augusti, M.D.XXVI. The earliest copy which I have seen is in the British Museum. It is dated 1531, and is well printed by Bebelius, at Basel. This was probably the first edition of the work. Another followed in 1533.

[a] Bale, in his list of Vergil's writings (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, Gippeswici, 1548, f. 223), enters this as a separate treatise with the title: *De ritibus christianorum*, li. v.

[b] This date and item of biography have been overlooked by Sir Henry Ellis.

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Afterwards it was reprinted along with the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, as in the editions of Basel, 1544; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671. It was translated into Italian by Baldelli, and printed along with Vergil's other dialogues at Venice, in 1550 (§ 13). It was printed along with the works of Julius Obsequens and of Camerarius, in Latin, by Oporinus, Basel, 1552, with curious coarse woodcuts to Obsequens' tract. The same collection came out in 16mo, elegantly printed in italics by De Tournes, at Lyons, in 1553. In 1554 an illustrated Italian translation of the collection by Damiano Maraffi was printed by De Tournes, of which there seem to have been two issues—one on common, the other on fine paper. In respect of the impressions of the woodcuts, the printing, and general finish, the fine paper issue is a masterpiece. This translation forms a small 8vo volume of 340 numbered pages, 18 pages of indices, not numbered, and a blank leaf. A French translation by George de la Bouthiere was printed uniformly by De Tournes in the following year, 1555. The ornamental border round the title-page and the woodcuts are the same as in the parallel Italian edition, but the French is printed in roman characters, whereas the Italian is printed in italics. The French edition is a small 8vo, containing 16 pages not numbered, 292 pages numbered, 11 pages of indices, not numbered, and a page with a device. In 1589, at Lyons, the same printer brought out another edition in Latin, in square 16mo. It contains the illustrations to Obsequens' tract which had already appeared in the Italian and French versions, and in addition some half-dozen to Vergil's dialogue, but the blocks are worn and the impressions poor, the printing is blurred, and the book, as a whole, is inferior to the earlier editions. De Tournes seems to have done his best to make these tracts as accessible to learned and unlearned alike as it was in his power to do. Every one of the editions, however, has now become extremely scarce.

There is a curious discrepancy in some of these editions which may be noted in passing. In the different Latin editions which I have examined, Basel, 1531, 1533, 1544; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671; the date of Vergil's epistle is as given above. In the French it stands: De Londres, ce treizieme d'Aoust, M.D.XXVI.; in Baldelli's translation: Di Londra A XX. d'Agosto, M.D.XXVI; and in Maraffi's translation: Di Londino, à di XVIII. d'Agosto, M.D.XXVI. There is no apparent reason for these variations.

12. Two years later Vergil edited a fragment of Chrysostom in Greek, with a Latin version. The prefatory epistle is dated: Londini, iij. Non. Aug. Anno M.D.XXVIII. and is addressed to Erasmus. In it Vergil says that he had at last managed to finish this translation which Erasmus had desired him to make, and

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that he had returned to the study of Greek, interrupted by his history of England. This tract was published at Basel in 1533, in a small 8vo of sixteen leaves, not numbered. It was afterwards reprinted along with Vergil's *Proverbs*, by Isingrinius, at Basel, in 1550, in 8vo, uniformly with the Basel editions of the *Inventions*. There are copies of both these editions in the British Museum, but Ellis (p. xiv.) mentions only that of 1550, and expresses himself as in doubt about an earlier edition.

In 1534, as has been already stated, the history of England was published.

13. Vergil wrote three dialogues—on patience, on the perfect life, and on truth and falsehood. The epistle of Vergil to Guido Baldo, duke of Urbino, which is prefixed to the first dialogue, is dated London, 1543. Bayle[a] says he had the edition of Basel, by Mich. Isingrinius, 1545, 8vo, and that the three dialogues were followed by that on prodigies. This, which is probably the first edition, I have not seen. The Italian translation of these dialogues, along with that on prodigies, was made by Francesco Baldelli, and was printed at Venice by Gabriel Giolito in 1550.[b] It has been mentioned above (§ 11).

14. This seems to have been the last of Vergil's works, for, although he left one or two in manuscript, and his notes on Horace were included in Nicholas Höniger's[c] edition of that poet printed at Basel by Sebastian Henricpetri in 1580, nothing more was printed by himself.

Ames[d] mentions "The commendation of matrimony. Imprinted at the instance of M. Polidore Virgil, archdeacon of Wells, by William Harrington. *With a preface in Latin by Polidore Virgil. Quarto.*" It was printed by John Rastell, without any date. This book does not appear to be in the British Museum. William Harrington's name occurs in Vergil's prefatory epistle to the second part of the *Proverbs*, in the edition of 1521. It may be observed here that Vergil, besides revising and enlarging his works when a fresh edition was called for, on several

[a] *Dictionnaire*, 1720, iv. p. 2832, note *D*.

[b] In 8vo. ff. 171. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[c] This book merits a word in passing. Vergil is only one of twenty-five commentators on Horace's works, besides those who have commented separate portions, included by Höniger in his edition—of which he says on the title, with a feeling of relief and an air of triumph: *iam pridem, in stvdiosæ iventvtis gratiam et vtilitatem post Hercvleos labores edita.* The work compiled so benevolently forms a large folio, closely printed, of some 1140 pages, besides a mass of prolegomena and indices. One can only think of the change that has come over studious youth in 300 years, when one compares Höniger's cyclopaedia with a modern school or college selection.

[d] *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1749, p. 148. Herbert (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1785, i. p. 342) gives the title at greater length.

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occasions wrote new prefatory epistles to them as well, so that his writings are not fully represented unless one has the successive early editions. The epistles allude to events in his own career and they have not yet been fully utilised by his biographers.[a]

15. It is said that between the years 1536 and 1547 he spent some time in Italy, but his writing from London in 1543 limits the date of this visit. There is evidence that he was in England in 1551, but soon after, on account of failing health; perhaps, too, because of the change in the times,[b] he took advantage of the royal permission to leave, returned to Italy once more, resided at Urbino, and died probably in 1555.

16. One cannot affirm that his works brought or have brought him much enviable renown. His *Proverbs* produced a transient difference with Erasmus.[c] His *History of Inventions* proved unpopular with the Church; in it he attacked abuses, spoke contemptuously of monastic orders, which, he said, "rise sodainly like toadstoles in a rain," and criticised and rationalized to an extent that must have been quite alarming. The book was accordingly censured and forbidden, but a version trimmed to suit Church views was printed at Rome in 1576, and all others were condemned.

For his edition of Gildas he was taken to task by Josseline, in his edition of that author published at London in 1568. He says that Vergil either had imperfect manuscripts, or did not reproduce them *cum bona religione et fide*. Stevenson, however, makes no charge against the first edition, and says that, after all his talk, Josseline had not made such notable additions to Vergil's text as his preface would lead us to suppose.[d] Vergil, in his preface, says that, when collecting material for his history of England, he saw mention of a certain Gildas, and after

[a] Bale, in his list of Vergil's works above-mentioned (§ 8, note [a]), quotes *Epistolas eruditas*, li. i. I know of no separate work of Vergil's with that title. Does Bale refer to his prefatory epistles?

[b] "Turbata Anglia in patriam rediit, vbi & senex obiit CIↃ.IↃLII. teste Andr. Theueto, in Virorum Illustrium Historia," says the notice of Vergil prefixed to Stoer's edition of the *Inventions*, 1604. Ellis (p. xx.) does not allude to Thevet's statement at all, and says that some authorities place Vergil's death in 1562, but he shows that 1555 is more probably correct.

[c] Vergil discusses the question of precedence with some degree of warmth in the first epistle to Richard Pace, prefixed to the 1521 edition of the *Proverbs*. Ellis has omitted this; apparently he did not know the 1521 edition.

[d] *Gildas de Excidio Britanniae. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stevenson.* London, for the English Historical Society, 1838, 8vo. pp. xx. xxi. Gildas has been often printed. There is an old English version by Habington, London, 1638, and a modern one by Dr. J. A. Giles, London, 1841, 8vo.

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much trouble got a MS. of his epistle, but found far less in it than he had anticipated. Subsequent critics have more than confirmed the first editor's views about Gildas and his epistle. In his minute examination of the whole subject, Wright[a] comes to the decisive result, "that there is no independent authority now existing which will enable us to test the historical truth of this tract, and that we have no information relating to its writer, which merits the slightest degree of credit." It may be remarked also that Wright takes no notice of Josseline's complaint against Vergil's edition.

The history of England raised a storm of indignation. His historical criticism and scepticism proved too strong, especially for the Celtic portion of his readers; his views were discredited as those of a foreigner, and virulent and persistent accusations[b] were made against him of having falsified facts, and of having carried off or destroyed quantities of historical documents, after the completion of his work.

Against these attacks Sir Henry Ellis has taken great pains to defend him; and he has shown that Vergil, while by no means perfect, did his best to be accurate and impartial, and was far in advance of his time in the treatment of historical data. To Ellis's prefaces reference must be made for the known events of Vergil's life and the adverse opinions that have been passed upon him.[c] The preceding will suffice as a chronology of his writings.

17. Before going into the details of the English version of the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, the chief points in the general history and bibliography of that interesting treatise may be recapitulated.[d] According to Beckmann's list, supplemented by certain editions not known to him,[e] there are about eighty different editions. Of

[a] *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, London, 1842, i. p. 128.

[b] They have been reiterated even by Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares*, Dresden, 1867, vi. ii. p. 284. This is how he puts it: "Cette histoire a été écrite à la faveur de la reine Marie et du parti catholique: on dit que l'auteur a été un grand faussaire qui, pour cacher ses nombreuses altérations des faits, a détruit un grand nombre de mss. historiques." It is sufficient to repeat as a reply to this, that the history was begun in 1505, and that Mary was not born till 1516; that the work was finished in 1533, and that "la reine Marie" began her reign in 1553, by which time Vergil was probably in Italy. The rest of Graesse's statement is presumably equally correct. Finally Graesse's article on Vergil's works is an instance of the higgledy-piggledy in arrangement.

[c] For one or two additional particulars, see Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, London, 1851, ii. p. 110.

[d] For another account, see the papers mentioned above, § 3, note [a].

[e] *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1792, iii. pp. 571-8. *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, ii. p. 233. From this latter list there has been omitted an edition, Basil., 1521, 8vo. mentioned by Beckmann, but I know nothing about it.

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these, some thirty consist of translations into Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English. The remainder are in Latin, and it is remarkable that, although the author was in everything, except birth and parentage, an Englishman, and although the book must have been in circulation here, not one of the Latin editions, so far as I know, was printed in England. It is also remarkable that the English abridgment was not printed till 1546; that is, till within four or five years of Vergil's final departure for Italy.

18. According to the author's own account, he compiled the first three books in about nine months. It is impossible, however, that he can have done all the reading for them in that time. It is more likely that, while perusing ancient and medieval writers, he noted down particulars about arts, and inventions, and antiquities, under different heads, so that when the time came to use them he had them only to arrange. The first version, however, did not satisfy him, for alterations were introduced in later editions. Thus, comparing the editions of Venice 1499, Paris 1528—29, Basel 1544, Elzevir's 1671, which I have had before me, I find that the 1528 copy contains additions to the first; that that of 1544 contains, besides, passages not in that of 1528; while the 1671 copy does not differ from that of 1544. If it were required to determine precisely when the alterations were made, it could be best done by a comparison of the above editions with those of 1521, 1525, and 1532; but, so far as I know, the text underwent no modification after 1544, at latest. By this time, perhaps earlier (in 1532? §§ 8, 25), Vergil was content to let the book be; and hence, subsequent editions, except the expurgated one of 1576 and its fraudulent re-issue in 1585,[a] its reprints, and some of the translations, are repetitions of this last form of the work.

19. The first edition, containing the first three books only, was printed in 1499, at Venice, by Christopher de Pensis, in a small quarto volume of eighty-eight leaves. It is by no means a common book. The copy I have was formerly in the Sunderland library. One or two authorities have given 1498 as the date of the first edition. As I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering that this is an error, it is unnecessary to enter again upon the subject.[b] The extremely rare edition, printed by Senant at Paris, without date, contains three books. So also do the second Venice edition of 1503, the first German edition of 1509,[c] and that now to be described.

[a] *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow* (N. S.), i. p. 195.

[b] *Ibid.* i. p. 196.

[c] *Ibid.* 1883, ii. p. 237, and (N. S.), i. p. 198. Of Senant's edition the only copy I know of and have seen is in the Bodleian.

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20. These early editions are rare, but are well known. The following, however, is not merely rare, but is quite unknown; and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving what, I believe, is the first description of it.

> Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis De
> inuentoribus rerum Libri tres operoſiſſima nuper cura
> emendati & ſeueriore Lima q̃ accuratiſſime expoliti. cũ
> caſtigatione multarũ imperfectionũ tam grẹce q̃ latine.

This is followed by the publisher's device: a rose-bush, on which hangs a shield, supported by two griffins, with a dog at the foot of the bush. Round three sides of the device, in black letter capitals, are the words: Alaventvre . tovt . vient . apoint . qvi . pevt . atendre.; and at the foot: Denis . Roce.

Below the device is the following:

> Venales habentur ſub inſigni diui Martini viæ Ia-
> cobeæ in ædibus Dionyſii Roce.

On the reverse of the title is Vergil's letter to Odaxius, which ends on a ii. verso. The text begins on a iii. and ends on h ii. recto. The table of contents begins on h. ii. *v.* and ends on h iiii. *r.* followed by some verses. On h iiii. *v.* is the colophon:

> ¶ Impreſſum Parrhiſiis per vigilantiſſimum calcographum Guil-
> lelmum le Rouge adiuncta recognitione fideli mutilarum ſen-
> tentiarum quæ per incuriam in aliis codicibus obrepſerant. Im-
> penſis vero honeſti Bibliopolæ Dionyſii Roce. Anno ſalutis . M.
> D. xiii. Octauo Calen. Decembres.
>
> Alpha. A. *a.* & Omega. *ω.* principium & finis.

This is followed by Roce's device, but on a smaller scale than that on the title-page.

The volume is a small quarto, printed in Roman character, except the first line of the title, which is in Gothic. It contains xlvi. numbered leaves, and two leaves of table not numbered; and the signatures run from a to h, alternately in eights and fours.

This description is taken from a copy in my own possession. Roce's edition is not mentioned by Panzer, Beckmann, Brunet, Graesse, or other authority, and there is no copy in the catalogues of the British Museum and Bodleian, or in that of any other library which I have been able to consult. In the meantime this is the only surviving copy of the edition.

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21. The date of the first publication of the last five books I have not been able to fix with absolute precision. Beckmann[a] says that they were printed along with the other three for the first time in 1517, but he does not mention the place, or the printer, or the size. Watt[b] says the book was printed at London, in 1517, but this is very unlikely. After he settled in London, Vergil had all his books first printed at Basel. If the enlarged edition of the history of inventions were printed in London, it would be the only exception to this rule—for the place where *Gildas* was printed is not stated; and, further, it would be the only Latin edition that was printed in London.[c] I know of no library where a copy of this edition is to be found, and I have seen no description of the book. I am doubtful if an edition of 1517 exists, and suspect that the authorities above quoted have based their statements on the prefatory epistle from Vergil to his brother, dated London, December 5, 1517.

22. The earliest edition I know of containing the whole eight books was printed at Basel, by Froben, in 1521,[d] of which there is a copy in the British Museum. The title runs thus:

> Polydo | ri Vergilii Vrbina- | tis Adagiorvm | Liber. | Eiuſdem de inuentoribus rerum li- | bri octo, ex accurata autoris caſtiga- | tione, locupletationéq; non uulgari, | adeo ut maxima ferè pars primæ | ante hanc utriuſq; uolumi | nis æditioni acceſſerit. |

This is a small folio. The first part, containing the *Proverbs*, has six leaves not numbered; the following sheet is *paged* 1-12, but thereafter the leaves are numbered 13-114, which seems to be a misprint for 106. The title-page and page 1 are surrounded by woodcut borders. The second part, containing the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, has no title-page; it is printed more closely, and has a separate series of signatures and leaf numbers. Signature A to A 2 *r.* contains Vergil's first epistle to his brother, dated: Londini, nonis decembris, An. M.D.XVII.;

[a] *Beyträge*, iii. p. 573.

[b] *Bibliotheca Britannica*, ii. 932, *o*.

[c] Gerardus Joannes Vossius (*De Historicis Latinis*, Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 678) says that the eight books were printed in 1499. Maittaire (*Annales Typographici*, Amstel. 1733, p. 692) corrects this error partially, by saying that the last five books did not appear before 1517, but Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Norimb., 1795, iii. p. 456) states the fact rather differently when he says that the work which contained only three books in the original edition was enlarged with other five in 1517 by Polydorus.

[d] Compare Reusch, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, 1883, i. p. 155. He does not allude to an edition of 1517.

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A 2 *v.* to A 5 *v.*, Index Capitvm; A 6, Vergil to Odaxius; Text, ff. 92, a misprint apparently for 94. On the recto of the last leaf is the colophon:

> Basileae Ex Aedibvs Ioan. Frobenii, | Mense Ivlio, Anno M.D.XXI.

On the verso is Froben's device.

23. Four years later these works were reprinted in one volume by Froben. As before, the first part consists of the *Proverbs* and the second of the *Inventions*, but with a separate title-page, which is as follows:

> Polydori | Vergilii Vrbinatis De Rervm | inuentoribus libri octo, per autorem ſumma | cura recogniti & locupletati. Dicas ſupremam manum impoſitam. |
> Eme lector, non te pœnitebit impenſæ. |
> Basileae Apvd Ioan. Frob. | Anno. M.D.XXV.

The size is again small folio. The title is surrounded by an elaborate woodcut border. A 2 *r.* to A 5 *r.*, Index Capitvm; A 5 *v.* to A 6 *v.*, Vergil to Odaxius, with another woodcut border round A 5 *v.*; text, pp. 1-247. This is followed, p. 248, by the prefatory epistle to the *Commentariolus in Dominicam precem*, dated: Nonis Nouembris, Londini, M.D.XXIIII., and then the Commentary, pp. 249-255. On the page following is Froben's device. This is most probably the first publication of the Commentary (§ 9). In this edition of the *Inventions* the prefatory letter to Vergil's brother contained in that of 1521 is omitted, and another shorter letter of the same date is inserted before the fourth book. This second letter is not contained in the 1521 edition.

24. Stephanus, at Paris, brought out two editions,[a] the first, dated 1528, contains three books only, but apparently he changed the design almost immediately, for he added the other five books, altered the title-page so as to include the new matter, left the original date on the title, but at the end printed: M.D.XXIX, VI Idvs Janvar. Both editions are extremely rare, and are wanting in the British Museum and Bodleian. The first I have not seen; the second I have described from the copy formerly in the Sunderland library.[b]

[a] Compare Renouard, *Annales des Estienne*, Paris, 1843, p. 29, No. 21; and p. 32, No. 24.

[b] *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 238.

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25. Of the copies subsequent to the preceding, so far as I have examined them, that of 1532 deserves mention.

> Polydori | Vergilii Vrbinatis De Re- | rum inuentoribus libri octo, per au | torem, tertio iam, ac diligentius re- | cogniti, & locupletati. Qua re ille | contentus tum demum ſu- | premam manum | impoſuit. |
> Eiuſdem in dominicam precem | commentariolum. |
> Basileae, Ex Officina Io. | Bebelii, Mense Martio, |
> Anno M.D.XXXII.

This is an 8vo, printed in italics. It has 20 pp., not numbered, containing title, contents, and epistle to Odaxius, and 528 pp. numbered, containing the text. The commentary, with its preface, occupies pp. 529-543, at the end of which is the colophon, and on the following page, Bebelius' palm-tree. This edition does not contain the 1521 prefatory letter, but only that to the fourth book, 1525.

The statement that this is the third revised edition requires explanation. If this be actually a fresh revision by Vergil, then it can be called the third relatively to the previous Basel editions of 1521 and 1525, both of which were revised by the author; for, of course, if the first edition were included this would necessarily be the fourth, and if all its predecessors, this would be the fifteenth or sixteenth. How far this one was altered could be ascertained only by a minuter comparison with the Basel editions than I have been able to make. If, however, there is no difference between this and the edition of 1525, as I judge from what I have seen to be the case, as well as from the similarity of the title-pages, this can claim to be the third edition only in the sense of its being a reprint of the edition of 1525, which may be called the author's third.

The 1532 edition is further of interest as being the pattern of subsequent Basel 8vo editions, two or three of which have been described by me in the papers already referred to.

The expurgated edition of Rome 1576, the sham new edition of 1585, and the Cologne reprint of 1626, are all remarkable for their ugliness as mere books, whereas the editions of Leyden 1644, Nimwegen 1671, and Amsterdam 1671, are distinguished by their typographical neatness.

The error of the Museum Catalogue, in giving an Amsterdam edition of 1651,

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and of Sir Henry Ellis (preface, p. iii. note *) in giving Amsterdam editions of 1651 and 1662, I have already discussed and accounted for.[a]

26. There is, however, one most important difference between the 1521 and 1528—29 editions, and those of later years, which has been just alluded to. Prefixed to these two is Vergil's letter to his brother, from London, in 1517, which has told us so much about himself and his coming to England. In every later edition which has come before me this letter is wanting, and I have failed to confirm Beckmann's statement that in some of them this letter is inserted before the fourth book.[b] There is a letter, certainly, from Vergil to his brother of the same date, but it is quite different from the other. But Beckmann, who obviously had not seen either of those editions, is not to blame, for he has been misled by Bayle. In note *I* to his article on Vergil,[c] after quoting from Vergil's letter the passage about his work on *Proverbs*, his coming to England, and his asking by Henry VII. to write a history of England, Bayle says: " Ce Passage se trouve à la tête de son Ouvrage *de Inventoribus Rerum* imprimé à Bâle l'an 1521 in folio, et c'est ainsi que l'Auteur parle à son frere. Sa Lettre est datée de Londres le 5 de Décembre 1517. Elle est au commencement du IV Livre du même Ouvrage dans plusieurs autres Editions; mais le Passage que j'ai cité ne s'y trouve point. C'est l'une des raisons qui me dévoient engagez à le mettre ici." How Bayle could have written this passage—if he had the two letters before him—is quite incomprehensible. When he compared the two letters, as his words imply that he did, did he not see that they have not a line, hardly an idea, in common? Did he not see that while the letter from which he quotes occupies two and a-half pages in the 1521 folio edition, the other letter, which he says is the same, occupies little more than a page in the octavo editions? If, however, he made the statement from recollection, then Bayle must have had a bad memory and should never have trusted it; so that, as it is now impossible to tell what Bayle wrote from this bad memory of his, and what not, it follows that little or no reliance can be placed on Bayle's accuracy—and on Bayle's narratives. It remains, however, as a curious and unexplained fact, not noticed by any one who has dealt with Vergil's life and works, and palpably ignored by Bayle, that he should have written two different letters to his brother from London, under the same date, for the same purpose, namely, as an introduction to his books about the origin of religious ceremonies.

[a] *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 235.

[b] *Beyträge*, iii. p. 573.

[c] *Dictionnaire*, 1720, iv. p. 2834.

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It is also curious that the longer and more interesting letter should have appeared, so far as I know, only in the 1521 and 1528—29 editions, but the other letter over and over again.[a]

27. The first of the translations was into French, and the translator was "Guillaume michel Dict de tours." It was printed for Pierre le Brodeur, March 23, 1521, and it forms a small folio of lxiii. [2] leaves, printed in long lines with a peculiar Gothic letter and a few woodcuts. There is a fine copy of this very rare edition in the British Museum. It contains only the first three books. In 1544 it was reprinted at Paris for Jehan Longis and Vincent Sertenas, without the additional five books. It forms a small octavo of [4] cxxxiii. leaves, in Roman character. There is a copy in the Museum. Several other editions appeared, but I have not met with them.

The German translation was executed by Marcus Tatius Alpinus and was first printed in 1537 by Heinrich Steyner, or Stayner, at Augsburg, in folio, with 131 (?) woodcuts. The copy in the Museum is of the second edition, and was printed by Stayner in 1544. It is a translation of the eight books. It is in folio and contains [10] clxxi. leaves and 125 (?) woodcuts in the text, which are very interesting and valuable as pictures of the time. These are the only illustrated editions of Vergil's work with which I am acquainted.

Besides this there was also published a translation of the parts relating to the Mass: *Zwey Capitel Polydori Virgilij vom Namē vnd Stifftern der Mess, ausgangen zu einē anfang widder des Sydonij predigten* . . . by Matthias Flacius Illyricus. The two chapters are the eleventh and tenth of Vergil's fifth book. The tract contains other things by Luther, Erasmus, &c., and forms a small 4to of twenty-two leaves, printed at Magdeburg by Christian Rödinger in 1550.

28. There are two Italian translations. The earliest which I have seen was printed at Venice by Gabriel Gioli *(sic)* in 1543; it was executed by Pietro Lauro, and the book is an unattractive octavo. This, according to Ellis, was reprinted by Giolito in 1545, of which date there is a copy in the Bodleian. It was printed again by Giolito in 1550, but without Lauro's name.

The second translation was executed by Francesco Baldelli. In his prefatory letter Baldelli tells how the Florentine printers, the Giunti, always energetic in

[a] The second shorter letter appeared for the first time to my knowledge in the edition of 1525, prefixed to the fourth book (§ 23). Thereafter it occurs in the Basel editions: 1532, 1544, 1546, 1563; Rome, 1576, 1585; Stoer's edition, 1604; Zetzner's, Argent., 1606; Cologne, 1626; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671; in the German translation, Augsburg, 1544; in the Italian translations, 1543, 1550, 1587, 1680. In the editions of 1606, 1644, 1671, the date at the end of the letter is erroneously printed 1518 for 1517.

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their wish to disseminate good books, contrived to persuade him to undertake a translation of Vergil's work. The translation has this title:—

> Di | Polidoro | Virgilio Da Vrbino | De Gli Inventori | Delle Cose. | Libri Otto. | Tradotti Per M. Francesco | Baldelli, | Con due Tauole, vna de' Capitoli, e l'altra | delle cose piu notabili. | Nouuamente stampati con licenza de' Superiori. | In Fiorenza, | Per Filippo, e Iacopo Giunti, e Fratelli. | M.D.LXXXVII. | Con priuilegio di Sua Altezza Sereniſſima & altri Principi. |

It is a quarto, and contains pages [24] 426 [2 *Registro*] 46 [2 *Registro* repeated].

This, I suppose, is the first edition. Baldelli's letter to Sig. Ottavio Imperiali is dated, *Adi x. di Gennaio*, M.D. LXXXVII. *Di Cortona*, and there is no mention of any earlier edition. It is singular that Baldelli, seven-and-thirty years after translating Vergil's dialogues (§ 13), should have undertaken a version of a book which had been in circulation throughout Europe for upwards of eighty years, knowing besides, as he must have done, that Lauro's Italian version had appeared forty years earlier. The explanation, if any be required, may possibly be found in the fact that in 1585 the unsold copies of the expurgated edition of 1576 were foisted as a new edition upon the public, who had their attention thus once more directed to the work. It then became convenient to forget or ignore Lauro's unregenerate version, and Baldelli, repeating the insinuation that Vergil's orthodoxy had been vitiated by heretic interpolations, made a new translation from the expurgated original, and had it sanctioned by the authorities as appears on the title-page.

This edition was republished in 1592, but I have not seen it. So late as 1680 it came out again in a handsome quarto at Brescia. In this edition, however, Baldelli's letter has been omitted, so that the book is shorn of an important part of its own history. There are thus three editions each of the two Italian versions, and so far as I know there were none after 1680. It should be mentioned that both the Italian translations embrace the whole eight books. I have not seen the Spanish translation.

29. Lastly, the English editions, of which there are nine.

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1. 1546.

An Abridgement of the
notable woorke of POLIDORE
VERGILE conteignyng the deuiſers
and firſte finders out aſwell of Artes,
Miniſteries, Feactes ꝛt ciuill ordinaun-
ces, as of Rites, and Ceremonies,
commōly vſed in the churche:
and the originall begin-
nyng of theſame. Cō-
pendiouſly ga-
thered by
Thomas Langley.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LON-
don vvithin the precincte of the late diſsol-
ued houſe of the Grey Friers, by Ri-
chard Grafton Printer to the
Princes grace, the . xvi.
daie of Aprill,
the yere of
our
lorde
M.D.xlvi.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum ſolum.

$5\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$. 8vo, by signatures.
Collation. Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. F. 2 *a* (with signature A. ii.):

To The Right | vvorſhipfull sir Antony Denny |
knight his daily oratour Thomas | Langley vviſheth
proſpe- | ritee and long continu- | ance of vvor- | ſhippe. |

This preface ends A. viij. *a*:

in our lorde | to whom be onely
ho- | nour for euer. |

On the reverse is a woodcut: Prince of Wales' feathers springing out of a coronet; below is the motto "Ich Dien," on a scroll in front of the quills, and the initials "E P" on either side; the whole surrounded by a glory, or projected

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on the sun's disc. The text begins on a. i. numbered fol. i., and ends on fol. C.lvi. recto, misnumbered C.liii., with the words:

¶ The ende of the abridge- | ment of the eight and
last booke | of Polidore Vergile. |

The verso is blank.

The Table begins on b. b. recto and ends on x. bii. recto. On the verso is the colophon:

IMPRINTED
at London vvithin the precincte
of the late diſsolued houſe of the
grey Friers, by Richard
Grafton Printer to
the princes grace,
the . xvi. daie
of A-
prill.
the yere
of our Lorde
1546.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum ſolum.

x. biii. recto contains Grafton's device or rebus, a grafted tree growing up through a barrel or tun, surrounded by a scroll, with the motto: SVSCIPITE INCITVM VERBVM IACO. I. The reverse is blank.

This book is printed in black letter, with ornamental roman capitals and marginal headings. The index is in double columns, and occupies 10½ leaves. The contents to the chapters, the index, and the marginal headings are in a rather smaller type than the text. The signatures are in black letter. The headlines, the numbering of the leaves, proper names, Latin words, and verses are in roman type. The last half of the title, the dedication of the preface, and the colophon are in italics. The numbering of the leaves is irregular and inaccurate: Fol. x. for fol. xi., after which the numbering is correct to fol. lxxx. inclusive. Sheet l, which follows, runs thus: Fol. lxv. lxvi. lxvii. lxviii. lxix. lxx. lxxi. lxxii. Sheet m then resumes the correct number, fol. lxxxix. fol. lxxxx. Then comes a string of misprints: Fo. lxci. fo. lxcii. fol. xciil. fol. lCi.; fol. c.xxiii. for c.xxxiii., fol. c.xxiiii. for c.xxxiiii., c.xxxvii. for cxxxviii., c.xxxix. for c.xl., c.xli. for c.xlii.,

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c.xliii. for c.xliiii., c.xliv. for c.xlvi., c.xlx. for c.l., c.lv. for c.liiii., and on the last numbered leaf c.liii. for c.lvi.

The copy now described is in the Grenville Collection, in the British Museum (G. 3259). It belonged formerly to Zacharias Babingtonus of Lichfield, about whom there is a MS. note, and to Ratcliff. It is in good condition, and is bound in red morocco extra. This edition is extremely rare. I have met with no copy but this, though there must be others.

This book was unknown to Ames, but Herbert (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1785, i. p. 520) describing it from his own copy, says correctly that it contains 156 leaves, but does not enumerate the leaves in the dedication and table, and also alludes to the faulty numbering after folio lxxx. Dibdin (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1816, iii. p. 451, No. *1462) reprints Herbert's notice as it stands, and adds that "Mr. Douce and Mr. Heber each possess a copy of it."

2. 1546.

¶ An Abridgemẽt of the
notable worke of POLIDORE
VIRGILE conteignyng the deui-
ſers and fyrſt fynders out aſwell of
Artes, Miniſteries, Feactes and
ciuil ordinaunces, as of Ri-
tes, and Ceremonies,
commonly vſed
in the chur-
che: and
the
originall beginnyng of
the ſame . Compen-
diouſly gathe-
red by
Thomas Langley.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON
vvithin the precincte of the late diſſol-
ued houſe of the grey Friers, by Ri-
charde Grafton Printer to the
Princis grace, the . xxv. daie
of Ianuarie, the yere of
OVR LORDE
M . D . XLVI.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum ſolum.

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$5\frac{7}{16} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$. 8vo, by signatures.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. Fol. 2 *a* (with signature A.ii.):

> To the right vvorſhipful and ſyn- | gular patrone of all good lernyng |
> sir Antony Denny knight, his day- | ly oratour Thomas Langley |
> vvifheth profperitee and | long continuaunce of | vvorſhippe. |

This preface ends A. viii. *a*:

> in our lorde | to whom be onely ho- | nour
> for euer. |

On the reverse is the woodcut of the Prince of Wales' feathers, as in No. 1.

The text begins on a. i. numbered fol. i. and ends on fol. c.lvi. recto, misnumbered c.liii.

> ¶ The ende of the abridge- | ment of the eight and
> last booke | of Polidore Vergile. |

The verso is blank.

The table begins on b. ii. recto and ends on x. vii. recto. On the verso is the colophon:

> IMPRINTED
> at London vvithin the precincte
> of the late diſsolued houſe of the
> grey Friers, by Richard
> Grafton Printer to
> the princes grace,
> the . xvi . daie
> of A-
> prill,
> the yere
> of our Lorde.
> 1546.
> Cum priuilegio ad impri-
> mendum ſolum.

x. viii. *a* contains Grafton's rebus of the tun and tree, with the scroll and motto as in No. 1. The verso is blank.

This book is printed in black letter. All the details of the use of roman and italic type are the same as in No. 1, except that the last part of the title is in

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roman type and not in italics, and so are the errors and misprints in the numbering of the leaves. The only exception is the first misprint, fol. x. for fol. xi. The Bodleian copy has the number correct, but the British Museum has the erratum.

I have seen two copies of this edition. That in the Bodleian has furnished the above description; it is a fine clean copy, and has Grafton's device at the end. The other copy is in the British Museum (720 a. 36); it is a shade larger, $5\frac{8}{16} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$; but it wants the last leaf with the device.

3. 1546.

¶ An Abridgemẽt of the
notable worke of POLIDORE
VERGILE conteygnyng the deui-
ſers and firſt finders out aſwell of
Artes, Miniſteries, Feactes ꝛt
ciuill ordinaunces, as of
Rites, ꝛt Ceremonies,
commonly vſed
in the chur-
che: and
the
originall beginnyng of
theſame. Compẽ-
dioufely ga-
thered by
Thomas Langley.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON
vvithin the precincte of the late diſſol-
ued houſe of the grey Friers, by Ri-
charde Grafton Printer to the
Princis grace, the . xxv. daie
of Ianuarie, the yere of
OVR LORDE,
M.D.XLVI.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum ſolum.

$5\frac{10}{16} \times 3\frac{14}{16}$, 8vo, by signatures.

Collation: Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. F. 2 *a* (with signature A. ii.):

To the right vvorſhipfull and ſyn- | gular patrone of all good learnyng |
ſir Antony Denny knight, his dai- | ly oratour Thomas Langley |
vviſsheth (*sic*) proſperitee and | long continuaunce of | vvorſhippe. |

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The preface ends on A. viii. *a*:

in | our lorde to whom | be only honour | for euer. |

On the verso is the woodcut of the Prince of Wales' feathers, as in Nos. 1 and 2.

The text begins on a. i. numbered fol. 1, and ends on fol. c.lvi *a*, *which is numbered correctly*:

Here endeth the abridgement of | the eight and laſte booke of | Polidore Vergile. |

On the verso is Grafton's device of the tree and tun, with the motto.

The table begins on b. b. recto and ends on x. bi. verso.

The colophon is on x. bii. recto.

IMPRINTED
at London vvithin the precincte of
the late diſsolued houſe of the
grey Friers, by Richard
Grafton Printer
to the Princes
grace,
the
xxv. daie of Ianuarie,
the yere of our
Lorde.
1546.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum ſolum.

The verso is blank. Leaf x. biii. is wanting. Is it blank, or does it contain Grafton's device repeated?

This book is printed in black letter, with ornamental and pictorial roman capitals and marginal headings. The index, in double columns, occupies 10 leaves. In the use of different kinds of type, black letter, roman and italic, this edition corresponds with the two preceding editions; excepting only the last half of the title, which is printed in roman type and not in italics, as in No. 1.

The errors and misprints in the numbering of the leaves are quite different. The numbers are correct to fol. xlviii. Sheet g is then numbered thus: xlix. l.xi. li. lxiii. liii. xlxv. lv. lxvii.; the numbers then run correctly from lvii. to lxxx. Sheet l is misnumbered as in Nos. 1 and 2. The correct numbering—beginning with lxxxix.—is resumed on m and continued to the end, fol. c.lvi., which is

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correct. There are, however, the following misprints: c.vi. for c.xvi.: c.xxiii. for c.xxxiii., and c.xxiiii. for c.xxxiiii.

The above description is from a very fair copy in the Euing collection, in the University library, Glasgow. The copy in the British Museum (9005. aa.) is imperfect, wanting A. viii. (the last leaf of the preface) and x. b. to end (the end of the index and the colophon).

Though Herbert (*Ibid.* 521) had an imperfect copy of an edition by Grafton, of January 25, 1546, and Dibdin states that Heber had a copy, no one seems to have observed that there were two separate issues of the book bearing that date. Comparison, however, of the preceding editions brings out distinctly that while all three are different, Nos. 1 and 2 are closely related, but No. 3 is quite independent.

In Nos. 1 and 2 the title, preface, and certain details of spelling and typographical arrangement are not the same, but these differences are confined solely to the first two sheets. All the sheets after those—even to the errata—are identical in the two editions.

No. 3 is quite distinct all through in details of spelling and arrangement. Some of the errata in the previous editions are amended; for example, the last leaf is numbered correctly, and an ornamental capital N at the beginning of chapter 6, Book VII. f. cxliii. recto, which is inverted in Nos. 1 and 2, is properly placed in No. 3. But there are new errata also.

This edition, therefore, I infer, was set up *de novo;* even the first two sheets, although the date on the title-pages is the same, are different from those of No. 2.

We arrive consequently at this curious result: the first edition was printed in April 1546; on the 25th of January following the first two sheets of the book were for some reason reprinted, and bound along with the remaining copies of the preceding April, and hence this issue has January 25, 1546, on the title page, but April, 1546, in the colophon. On the same day, January 25, 1546, an edition entirely new from beginning to end was printed, differing not only from the previous April edition, but even from the first two sheets of the April—January edition. One should have expected that when Grafton was bringing out a new edition, and at the very same time required two sheets to complete the surplus copies of the previous April edition, he would have printed enough of them to have served both purposes, instead of being at the expense and trouble of setting up the first two sheets twice over, apparently at the same time. Perhaps, how-

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ever, the coincidence is after all merely in the printed date but not in the date of actual execution. In the meantime no explanation is forthcoming.

4. 1551.

An abridge-
ment of the notable worke
of POLIDORE VERGI-
LE conteinyng the deuiſers and
firſt finders out aſwell of Artes,
Miniſteries, Feactes and ciuil
ordinaunces, as of Rites,
and Ceremonies, com-
mōly vſed in the chur-
che: and the original
beginnyng of the-
ſame. Compen-
diouſly ga-
thered
by
Thomas Langley.
1551.
Menſe Iulij.

$5\frac{4}{16} \times 3\frac{10}{16}$. 8vo, by signatures.

Collation: Fol. 1: Title. F. 2*a* (with signature A. ij.):

To The Richt (*sic*) | vvorſhipfull ſir Antony Denny | knight, his daily oratour Thomas | Langley vviſheth proſpe- | ritie and long continu- | ance of vvor- | ſhippe. |

This preface ends on A. viij. *a*:

in | oure lorde | to whom be onely ho- | nour for euer. |

On the reverse is Grafton's device of the seven liberal arts.

The text begins on a. j. numbered fol. 1, and ends on fol. cli. verso (misnumbered c.xxxv.) with the words:

¶ Thende of the abridgement of the | viij. and laſt boke of *Polidore Vergile.*

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The table begins on the next leaf, **t. biij.** recto and ends on **b. b.** verso. On **b. bi.** recto, is the colophon:

Imprinted
at London, by Ri-
chard Grafton, Prin-
ter to the Kynges
Maieſtie.
Anno . 1551.
Cum priuilegio ad im-
primendum ſolum.

On the reverse is Grafton's device repeated.

The book is printed in black letter, with ornamental roman capitals, and marginal headings. The index is in double columns and occupies six leaves. The titles to the chapters, the index, and the marginal headings are in much smaller type than the text. The signatures are in black letter. The headlines, the numbering of the leaves, Latin words, and verses are in roman type. The dedication of the preface is in italics, and so are some words in the colophon.

The numbering of the leaves is very irregular:—

xi for xiij, xiii for xv, xxv for xxxiij, xxvij for xxxv, xxix for xxxvij, xxxi for xxxix, lxxxiij for lxxxviij, c.iiij for c.xij, cxxxv for cli.

The preceding account is from a copy in my own possession. In the British Museum there are three copies, of which two are imperfect.

Herbert (*Typ. Ant.* i. p. 533) describes this edition briefly. He says, however, that it contains 155 leaves, which is an error superimposed on another. The last leaf is misnumbered cxxxv. for cli. Herbert seeing from the number cl. on the preceding leaf that cxxxv. was certainly not right, concluded that it was a simple misprint for clv. Had he counted the leaves he would have detected the less patent error. Dibdin (iii. p. 474) just copies this, errors and all, and he adds: "A copy in Herbert's collection; who observes, in ms., that the translator was Tho. Langley." If Herbert did so, it was quite needless, for the book has Langley's name on the title-page.

1562. Beckmann (*Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1792, iii. p. 576; see also *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 234) quotes, on Ames's authority, an edition of this date. The error into which Beckmann has fallen in so doing is explained under the next copy, No. 5.

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5. [1570.]

An abridge-
mente of the Notable
worke of Polidore
Virgile.
Conteining the deuiſers and fyrſte
fyneders oute aſwell of Antyqui-
ties, Artes, Miniſteries, Feactes
and ciuill ordinaunces, as of the
Rites, and Ceremonies, com-
monlye vſed in the chur-
che: and the original
beginning of the
ſame.
Compendiouſlye gathered
and newlye peruſed
by Thomas Langley.

$5\frac{3}{16} \times 3\frac{2}{16}$. 8vo.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title, which is enclosed in a border of four pieces; verso blank. F. 2 *a* (with signature A. ii.):

To the ryght | worſhypfull ſir Antonye |
Denny knight, his daily oratour | Thomas Langley,
wiſheth proſperi- | ty and long continuance | of worſhip. |

This preface ends on A. viii. *a*:

our Lord. | To whome be only ho- | nour for euer. | Amen. | (.·.) |

Followed by the bottom piece of the title-page border. The verso is blank. The text begins on a. i. numbered fo. i. and ends fol. c.lii., with the words:

¶ Thende of the abridgement of the | viii. and
laſt boke of *Polidore Vergile.* |

The verso is blank. The table begins on b. i. recto, and ends x. bi. recto. On the verso is the colophon:

Imprynted at
London by Jhon Tiſdale
dwellyng in Knight
riders ſtreate, neare to
the Quenes
Wardrop.

followed by the bottom piece of the title-page.

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On x. bii. is Tisdale's device: Abraham in the act of slaying Isaac, with the altar, the ram, and an angel in the air catching the sacrificial knife. The verso is blank. x. biii., probably blank, is wanting.

The book is printed in black letter. The table or index is in double columns and occupies 13½ leaves, and is printed with the same type as the text. The headlines and marginal headings are printed with type of the same size as the text, but from a different and more angular fount. The headings to the chapters, verses, and Latin words are in italics. The numbering of the leaves and the signatures are in black letter.

There are a few misprints in the numbering of the leaves: lxv. for lxiii., lxxxiii. for lxxxviii., c.xxix. for c.xxxviii., c.xxxv. for c.li.

There is no date, but from the imprint and device it is supposed to have been printed during or about the year 1570.

The bottom piece of the title-page represents a hound with a collar looking backwards to the left.

The preceding description is taken from a copy in my own possession.

There is a copy of this edition in the British Museum, measuring $5\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{7}{16}$. There is also one in the Bodleian, $5\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{12}{16}$, a beautiful large clean copy, the best of the three. Both of these want x. biii.

There are variations between this and the earlier editions. Some of the marginal headings are omitted and others are transposed; there are, of course, variations in spelling, and there is the curious misprint (fol. viii *a*) *Stoickes* for *Scots*. In Tisdale's edition, at the close of chap. iv. book ii. there is a clause which does not occur in the 1546 or 1551 edition.

This edition is mentioned by Ames (*Typ. Ant.* p. 275), described by Herbert (*Typ. Ant.* ii. p. 769) from his own copy, and Herbert is copied by Dibdin (*Typ. Ant.* iv. p. 350).

Beckmann quotes Ames, but makes two mistakes. First, he gives the date as 1562. Beckmann did not observe that Ames always puts the date of each book in the margin, and places books without date at the end, by themselves. This edition happens immediately to follow a book dated 1562, and Beckmann thought this must be the date of Vergil as well. There is no dated edition of 1562. Secondly, he calls Ames' book: *Old English Printers.* This is a misquotation of the engraved frontispiece, which is entitled, *A Collection of Old English Printers Marks; Rebusses; Devices; &c. by Ioseph Ames.*

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6. 1659.

An
Abridgement
Of The
Works
Of the moſt Learned
Polidore Virgil.
Being An
History
Of
The Inventors, and Ori-
ginal beginning of all Antiquities, Arts,
Mysteries, Sciences, Ordinances, Orders, Rites and
Ceremonies, both Civil and Religious. Alſo, of all
Sects and Schiſms.
A work very uſeful for Divines, Hiſtorians, and all
manner of Artificers.
Compendiouſly gathered, by
T. LANGLEY.

LONDON, Printed by *John Streater.* 1659.

$5\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$. 8vo.
Collation. Fol. 1 : Title. Fol. 2 *a* (with signature A 2) :

> To The | Courteous Reader. | Lactantius *writeth that certain Phi-* | which ends A 4 verso: | *heart toward all favourers of good learning.* | *FINIS.* |

This is the preface to Sir Antony Denny, curtailed by the omission of the passage beginning "Although this booke be bot simple" down to "in so much as it conteigneth;" and of all after "good learning." Text: pp. 311 (ending on leaf X 4 recto). X 4 verso :

> A *Table,* containing moſt of | the ſpeciall Matters or | Sentences in this | Book. |

ends Y 8 verso, thus occupying pp. 25.

The book is printed in roman character. The index or table is in double columns, in italics and roman. The preface, contents of the chapters, the marginal headings, proper names, Latin words and verses, are all in italics. The head-line is in italics, and consists of the words, *Polidore Virgil,* with *Lib.* 1 9 in the inner top corner of each page.

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From the preceding, this edition differs only in the curtailed preface, in the spelling being modernised, and in a few verbal alterations. But to it is added a ninth book, which is not by Polydore Vergil. In it also is repeated an erratum which occurs in the 1551 edition, namely, in book 2, where chapter xiii. is misprinted xii. This same erratum occurs, of course, in the 1663 edition, but is corrected in that of the Agathynian Club.

7. 1663.

The
Works
Of The
Famous Antiquary,
Polidore Virgil.
Compendiouſly
Engliſh't by *John Langley*, late Master of *Paul's*
School, *London.*
Containing
The *Original* of all *Arts,*
Sciences, Myſteries, Orders, Rites,
and *Ceremonies*, both *Eccleſiaſtical*
and *civil.*
A Work Uſeful
For all *Divines, Hiſtori-*
ans, Lawyers, and all *Artificers.*
LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Miller*, at the *Star* in St. *Paul's*
Church-Yard, 1663.

$5\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{10}{16}$. 8vo.

Collation. Fol. 1; Title, verso blank. Fol. 2, without signature, recto blank; verso contains the following note about the author:

"*Polidore Virgil*, by Birth an *Italian*, the greateſt Antiquary in his Time: He was Arch-Deacon of *Wells*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth."

The text begins on B 1, p. 1, and ends p. 311. The table occupies pp. 25, from X 4 verso to Y 8 verso, and is followed by six leaves of book advertisements.

This is not a new edition or a reprint, but is merely the remainder of the 1659 edition, with a new title-page, and the note about Vergil, minus the address to the reader.

The noticeable thing in this edition is the ascription of the translation to

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John Langley, master of Paul's school, which statement is repeated by Anthony à Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, London, 1817, iii. col. 435). John Langley, according to Wood, became a commoner or batler of Magdalen hall about 1612; was master of the College School in Gloucester for twenty years; thereafter master in Paul's school, London, and died in 1657. He was a man of great learning, and was a distinguished antiquary. Wood adds: "He also translated from Lat. into English the book of Polid. Virgil, entit. *De Rerum Inventoribus;* which book had been translated by Joh. Bale in the time of K. Ed. 6. but in old and rude English." This, as coming from Wood, merits a brief examination, to display the errors which it contains.

a. John Bale, in the catalogue which he gives of his own writings (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum ... Summarium*, Gippeswici, 1548, f. 243), mentions: *In Polydorũ de inuento. rerũ. indi. iij.* There is no reference to any translation by him in the list of his English works. Has Wood fallen into some confusion?

b. If the translation into old and rude English was that printed by Grafton, the translator's name, as we have seen, was Thomas Langley, not John Bale. Was Thomas Langley a name assumed by Bale? I have not seen that assertion made. It is singular that Wood should have described the English of John Bale's time as old and rude. At this present time might one venture to call the English of Pope, Swift, Thomson, Gray, Collins, and a few more, about one hundred and fifty years ago, old and rude?

c. Grafton's editions are dated respectively, April 1546, and January 25, 1546 (-47). King Edward VI. came to the throne January 28, 1546-7; so that Wood's statement is not strictly accurate, even in this.

d. Wood implies that this translation of John Langley's was new. The only edition which has John Langley's name is this one of 1663; and it cannot claim to be a new translation, because, in the first place, it is not even a new edition, but simply the remainder of the 1659 edition with a new title-page; and, in the second place, the 1659 edition is a reprint of that of 1546.

e. This edition of 1659 was published two years *after* the date of John Langley's death, as given by Wood; and the translator is called T. Langley, as in all the earlier editions. There was no thought then of ascribing it to the master of Paul's school.

Wood, therefore, has credited John Langley with a piece of work that was published some fifty years before he was born; certainly one hundred and seventeen years before the edition appeared in which his name is given as the trans-

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lator. If Wood had compared the editions he must have seen the contradiction involved in his narrative; but perhaps he was unable to see the earlier editions.

How could the mis-statement have got into the title-page? Did Simon Miller alter the name of T. Langley into John Langley, in the belief that it was a misprint? or did he know John Langley's reputation as an antiquary, and think that this remainder lot would sell all the better that a well-known name was on the title-page? Was it done in ignorance; or was it a bookseller's dodge? Anyhow, it misled Anthony à Wood, and caused him to commit himself to the absurdities above mentioned; and it has been repeated in the American edition, No. 9 below, by Hammond, who has not been able to detect it. How far the error has been propagated I cannot tell; but it appears with fresh accretions in the irritatingly inaccurate lists given by Allibone (*Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1877, iii. p. 2518); and I have no doubt that it will appear in other books, biographical dictionaries, and histories of literature yet to come.

8, 1686.

A
Pleaſant and *Compendious*
HISTORY
OF
The firſt INVENTERS and
INSTITUTERS of the moſt
Famous *Arts*, *Miſteries*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms* and *Manners* in the whole
WORLD.
TOGETHER,
With many other Rarities and Remarkable things Rarely known, and never before made Publick.
To which is Added,
Several Curious Inventions, peculierly Attributed to *England* & *Engliſh*-men.

The whole Work Alphabetically Digeſted, and very helpful to the Readers of Hiſtory.

Licenſed October 29*th* 1685. R.L.S.

LONDON, Printed for *John Harris*, at the *Harrow* againſt the Church in the *Poultrey*, 1686.
Price Bound One Shilling.

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$5\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{4}{16}$. 12mo.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title. F. 2 recto (with signature A 2): The preface to the Reader, by John Harris, the publisher, to A 3 recto. A 3 verso: an alphabetical table, to A 6 verso. B 1 recto: the introduction, to B 2 recto; verso blank. The text: pp. 159. Four pages of book advertisements follow, and the last page is blank. There is nothing noticeable about the book.

This is Langley's translation arranged alphabetically, with some alterations, omissions, and additions. One of the most striking alterations occurs under the head of *Banquets*, where allusion is made to the Greek and Latin laws against excess. In the 1546 edition, f. 68, 1551 edition, f. 66, 1570 edition, f. 66, the passage concludes thus: "For the abolishing of such excessiue feastyng, I woulde some good man wold prescribe nowe a dayes a lawe to be precisely obserued of all men, for I thynke there neuer was such ryot in feasting as ther is in this time." In the 1686 edition, p. 12, it runs thus: "But I could wish there were some good Law prescribed for good Hospitality: For I believe there was never so little as in these times."

Of this book I do not know if there was any reprint.

9. 1868.

The latest edition of the history of inventions forms No. II. of the publications of the Agathynian Club, New York. The title-page is as follows:

Polydori Virgilii.
De
Rerum Inventoribus;
Translated Into English
By
John Langley;
With an account of the Author and his Works;
By
William A. Hammond, M.D.
*
New York:
Agathynian Club.
1868.

Size, $9\frac{7}{16} \times 6$, uncut. 8vo. in fours. Pp. xvi. 242, xvii. The title is printed in red and black. Between the editor's name and the place is a monogram, with the motto: Fabricando Fabri Fimus, and date 1867.

The preliminary xvi. pages are occupied with the short title, the title as above, and Hammond's introduction. He gives a short description of Vergil and his

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writings taken from Ellis. There are some inaccuracies in it, unavoidable from his not having access to the requisite sources of information; for example, he quotes an Elzevir edition of the *De inventoribus rerum* of 1651, which does not, indeed could not, exist; but most of the inaccuracies occur already in Ellis's prefaces.

The reprint of the work begins on p. 1, with the following title-page:

The
Works
Of The
Famous Antiquary,
Polidore Virgil.
Compendiouſly
Engliſh't by *John Langley*, late Maſter of *Paul's* School,
London.
Containing
The *Original* of all Arts,
Sciences, Myſteries, Orders, Rites, and *Ceremonies*, both
Eccleſiaſtical and *Civil.*
A Work Useful
For all *Divines, Historians,*
Lawyers, and all *Artificers.*
LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Miller*, at the *Star* in St. *Paul's* Church-
Yard, 1663.

In this title, which is a copy of that of 1663, the lines are not arranged exactly in the same way; see No. 7. In the reprint there are besides some typographical changes: the marginal contents are omitted; the contents of each chapter are printed in roman capitals, but proper names, Latin words and verses, are still in italics. Though a correct reprint, therefore, this is not a fac-simile.

This edition of course contains the ninth book, which, as Hammond did not know, is spurious. Though he quotes (p. xiv.), not quite correctly, the title of the April 1546 edition with Thomas Langley's name, and mentions besides the edition of January 1546, of 1551, and Tisdale's, he says, "I have not had the opportunity of comparing it (*i.e.* the 1663 edition) with any other English edition, and am not aware, therefore, in what respect it differs from them. It appears to be well translated, but is evidently abridged in some parts." But he should not have forgotten or ignored the difference in the translator's name as given in the 1546 and 1663 editions.

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The concluding xvii. pages contain the table, printed in ordinary type, and the last page of all is blank.

This is a handsomely got up volume on thick paper bound in half morocco, uncut, gilt top; 120 copies only were printed, and Hammond says it is the first portion of Vergil's writing ever printed in the United States. In several respects, therefore, it is an interesting book.

30. There is but little to add to the foregoing. Of Thomas Langley I only know that he is styled canon of Winchester. The English version differs from all the others in being very much curtailed. It was made from one of the late Latin editions, as it contains passages which do not occur in the editions of 1499 and 1528—29, but which exist in that of 1546. Langley has reduced it to about a third of its original size, and in so doing has converted it into little more than a list of names and facts, and has left out the criticism which might have proved attractive to subsequent readers. This may have been done to avoid controversy, for in 1546 people were less patient of contradiction, especially in ecclesiastical matters, than they are at present. It may have been intended too as a way of making Vergil's extensive work and scholarship accessible to a public with no special antiquarian tastes, possibly with no marked tastes of any kind.

The abridgment was made without any recognition on the part of the author, without any sign either of his approval or disapproval.

With the exception of the French version, it is noteworthy that the translations all appeared at a comparatively late period in the history of the book, and all about the same time. Vergil's work had gone through numerous editions in Latin during upwards of forty years before any one thought of turning it into English.

The translation passed slowly into circulation. In five and twenty years there were four, or shall we say five, editions, those of 1546, 1551 [1570]. Then it was forgotten for ninety years—till it was resuscitated in 1659. But it had lost its interest, and proved heavy stock. The remainders had to be furnished with a new title-page, and sent out as a new edition in 1663. The same thing had happened with the expurgated edition of 1576, and perhaps for the same reason—the book had been eviscerated—all the controversial matter, what most interested all parties, had been got rid of.

After this there was no more of Polydore Vergil and his book. The later adaptation does not bear his name and contains no allusion to him, and the American reprint is not an edition for general circulation, but is a special literary curiosity.

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The rarity of the English editions is very marked. This may be due to one of two influences: either the book was so popular that the editions were worn out, or else the book was so little wanted that the editions were destroyed in the lump. If the former had been the case, I think the book would have been printed much oftener than it was, and the 1659 edition would not have required a new title four years later to make it go off. Copies of the earlier editions may also have been destroyed by opponents of Vergil's views.

The day for reviving the book for general use is long gone past. If, however, there were a society or printing club for the preservation of the early records of science and discovery and invention—which there is not—a reprint of Langley's translation might very fairly be included in their publications, and would not be an anachronism.

University of Glasgow,
May 18, 1887.

Note.—In illustration of the preceding paper, the following works and editions were exhibited:

Proverbiorum Libellus.—Venice, 1498. 4to.
De Inventoribvs Rerum.—Venice, 1499. 4to. Strassburg, 1509. 4to. Paris, 1513. 4to. Paris, 1528-9. 4to. Basel, 1546. 8vo. Basel, 1563. 8vo. Rome, 1585. 8vo. Strassburg, 1606. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1671. 12mo.
„ „ (Italian).—Venice, 1550. 8vo. Brescia, 1680. 4to.
„ „ (English).—London, 1551. 8vo. London, [1570]. 8vo. London, 1686. 12mo.
Gildas.—[London], [1525]. 8vo.
De Prodigiis.— Lyons, 1553. 16mo. Lyons, 1589. 16mo.
„ „ (Italian).—Lyons, 1554. 8vo.
Historia (English).—London, 1844. 4to. London, 1846. 4to.

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VI.—*Some Remarks on the Northumbrian Palatinates and Regalities.* *By* WILLIAM PAGE, *F.S.A.*

Read June 30, 1887.

FOR the purpose of my paper, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the history of the kingdom and earldom of Northumbria. In 547, according to Symeon of Durham, king Ida founded the kingdom of Northumbria, at whose death it was divided into the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. It was governed as either one or two kingdoms, by entirely independent kings, down to the time of Egbert, king of the West Saxons, who, having brought all England south of the Humber under his rule, sent an army in 829 to Northumbria, and made Eanred, the king there, subject to him. In 867 the kingdom came under Danish rule, but king Alfred, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, received recognition of his overlordship from king Guthred the Dane in 894. This claim of overlordship by the West-Saxon kings of England was of a very precarious nature, and seems only to have been maintained by continual expeditions into the Northumbrian kingdom. In 924, Athelstan and Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, met at Tamworth, when Athelstan gave his sister in marriage to Sihtric. Some arrangement was probably come to at this meeting as to the succession to the crown of Northumbria, for on the death of Sihtric two years later Athelstan assumed the kingdom of Northumbria. Guthred, son of Sihtric, seems to have laid some claim to the kingdom, but he does not appear to have met with much support. It must be noted here that Athelstan did not succeed Sihtric as a conqueror, but was, in all probability, elected by the Northumbrian witan. He was, therefore, at this time king of two separate kingdoms, the one on the south

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and the other on the north of the Humber. This is more distinctly shown at the death of Athelstan, when the Northumbrians set aside the claims of Edmund the Elder, and elected Olaf of Ireland as their king, but he being unable to support his title, Onlaf, son of Sihtric, and Regnald, son of Guthred, were jointly elected to the throne. In 944, however, they were expelled by Edmund, but at his death the Northumbrians again raised Onlaf, son of Sihtric, who was shortly afterwards driven out by Eadred, when Wulstan, archbishop of York, and all the Northumbrian witan swore fealty to Eadred. Two years later, namely in 948, the Northumbrians broke their fealty and elected Eric, son of Harold, as their king. Edred for this harried all Northumbria, but on his return south the rear of his army was attacked and many of his men slain, whereupon he threatened to go back and totally destroy the country. Upon hearing this threat the Northumbrian witan expelled Eric and Edred was restored. In the following year Olaf Cwiran (as to whose identity see Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 152) seems to have assumed the kingdom and to have reigned there three years, when he was banished, and Eric re-instated (952). In 954 the Northumbrians expelled Eric, and Edred again became king. At this time, as in the case of Athelstan, there does not appear to have been any conquest of the kingdom by Edred, but the Northumbrians, it would seem, of their own free will expelled their king Eric and re-elected Edred.

After he had assumed the kingdom Edred appointed as earl over the province Osulf, lord of Bamburgh, apparently the grandson of Eadulf, lord of Bamburgh, to whom the northern church owes so much for his endeavours to keep alive the Christian religion when the land was overrun by the heathen Danes. From this time Northumbria was ruled by earls.

Soon after the accession of Edgar, the province was divided, Osulf taking the earldom north of the Tees, and Oslac that on the south. At the time of their successor Waltheof, probably the son of Osulf, the two earldoms seem to have again been merged into one. When the Scots under Malcolm in 1006 brought an army into Northumbria and laid siege to the city of Durham, Waltheof appears to have been a feeble old man and shut himself up in his castle of Bamburgh. His son Uctred however showed himself equal to the occasion, for, having united the armies of the Northumbri and Eboracenses, he defeated the Scots and delivered Durham.

For this he was made earl in the place of his father, and ruled the province until 1016, when he was murdered at the instigation of Cnut, who put Eric in his place. Little is known of this Eric, and it is doubtful if he ever took up the

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government of the earldom, at all events north of the Tees. Symeon makes no mention of him, and states that Uctred was succeeded by his brother Eadulf Cudel, and he, by his nephew Aldred son of Uctred, who, having killed the murderer of his father, was himself killed by the son of his father's murderer. After Aldred came Eadulf his brother. He was slain by Siward, who claimed the earldom in right of his wife Elfreda, daughter of Aldred. He again was succeeded in 1055 by Tostig, son of earl Godwin. With the death of Siward we come to an interruption in the line of succession of the house of Bamburgh. Tostig was, at first, probably received with favour by the Northumbrians, the house of Godwin being in such high repute at the time, but his oppressive policy soon alienated from him that turbulent race. We are told he set aside the laws of Cnut, and made laws of his own, which shows a considerable amount of independence to be exercised by an earl; also that he laid heavy and unjust taxes and treacherously murdered several thegns. These and other accusations the Northumbrians laid to his charge. To redress these grievances the Northumbrian thegns in 1066 held a gemot at York, at which they declared Tostig an outlaw, and elected Morkar, son of Algar, earl of Mercia, in his place. This gemot has been described as a rebel gemot, but its actions were certainly acknowledged by Edward and his witan as lawful and its provisions carried out. Tostig, the friend and intimate companion of Edward, was banished, and his earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon conferred on Waltheof, the son of the late earl Siward.

Morkar soon found that the management of the whole of Northumbria was too much for him, he therefore gave the northern part beyond the Tees to Osulf, son of the late earl Eadulf. This was the final division of Northumbria into the earldoms of Yorkshire and Northumberland. Upon the accession of William the Conqueror Morkar made peace with him, and for a time remained as one of the king's attendant noblemen, but owing, it is stated, to the king withdrawing the hand of his daughter from Edwin, Morkar's brother, the two brothers joined Hereward in open rebellion, and in 1071 fled to Ely, where Morkar was taken and afterwards imprisoned for life. His earldom of Yorkshire therefore fell into the king's hands, and no earl appears to have been appointed in his place.

With regard to the earldom north of the Tees, William, soon after he was crowned, gave this to Copsi, the lieutenant of the banished earl Tostig. Almost immediately after Copsi had taken up the government he was murdered at Newburn by Osulf, who again seized the earldom, but was slain the same year by a robber. William, in 1068, appointed Robert Cumyn, who was murdered at

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Durham immediately on his arrival in the county. The earldom was then committed to Cospatric, one of the house of Bamburgh, but he, being implicated in the rebellion of Edwin and Morkar, fled to Scotland and was succeeded by his cousin Waltheof, son of Siward. In 1075 Waltheof was beheaded for his share in the conspiracy of the Norman earls. After him came Walcher, bishop of Durham, who, it is stated, bought the earldom from William. His government does not appear to have been approved of by the Northumbrians; being a foreigner he probably did not understand their ways. It would seem that in 1080 a quarrel had arisen between the bishop's chaplain Leobwin and one of the bishop's lay advisers Liulf, who had married a daughter of earl Aldred. Leobwin persuaded Gilbert, the bishop's sheriff, to murder Liulf and all his household. The Northumbrians, probably taking this as an insult to their old governing family, held a secret meeting, and determined to demand justice from the bishop, not only for the murder of Liulf, but also for illegal exactions. They afterwards met the bishop at the *placita comitatus* held at Gateshead, when he refused to listen to their complaints, whereupon a cry was raised by Eadulf Rus, a member of the house of Bamburgh, to slay the bishop, who, with his chaplain and sheriff, were murdered, together with their followers. We here see a revival of the spirit of independence, and the claim by the Northumbrians to meet and discuss matters connected with the earldom in the same way as did the gemot before the expulsion of Tostig.

The next earl was Alberic, who, being unequal to the task of governing the county, retired to Normandy. He was succeeded by Robert de Mowbray, who, refusing to appear before king William Rufus, was taken at Tynemouth and imprisoned for life, and his earldom seized into the king's hands, where it remained till 1140, when it was granted out to Henry prince of Scotland.

In the foregoing we have seen that the Northumbrians had their own witan certainly as late as 948, which had the power to expel Eric and raise Edred to the throne. I think we can trace the existence of this witan in the election of most of the earls and in the expulsion of Tostig and election of Morkar. Have we not also a remnant of it at the present time in the York Convocation? The earls must have had considerable independence to make their own laws as Tostig did. Professor Freeman points out that there is only one writ in the *Codex Diplomaticus* addressed to a Northumbrian earl, which was to Tostig, and relates only to an ecclesiastical appointment, although the king's writs are very frequent in other earldoms. He also suggests that the king's writ did not run in Northumbria, certainly at the time of Earl Siward, which brings us to 1055, eleven years only

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before the Conquest. And I think we shall see that the king's writ did not run in the lands of Northumbria, which were not in the king's hands till a much later date. Again, we find in the *Codex Diplomaticus* that kings Edmund, Edred, Edwy, and Ethelred all describe themselves as kings or rulers of the Anglo-Saxons and Northumbrians separately. From *Domesday Book* we learn that in Yorkshire, at the time of king Edward, "the earl had nothing at all in demesne manors, neither had the king in the manors of the earl, except that which belongs to the court Christian which belongs to the archbishop." The purport of this passage is somewhat obscure, but I would suggest that it means that the earl took nothing from the king's manors—which appear to have been only four in number, namely, Wackefeld, Burc, Chenaresburg, and Hovedon—but in his own manors, which extended over the greater part of the earldom, the earl took all tolls, customs, forfeitures, escheats, etc. We find by the Pipe Rolls this was clearly the case at a later date in Northumberland. In the earliest Pipe Roll we have—namely, that for 31 Henry I.—there is a return for Northumberland, but this is after the forfeiture by Robert de Mowbray. In the Rolls for 2 and 3 Henry II., when the earldom was in the hands of Malcolm of Scotland, there is no return. The following year, viz. 4 Henry II., when the earldom again came into the hands of the crown, we have a return of the issues, which continues regularly down to 2 Richard I. For the three following years there is no mention at all of Northumberland, the earldom having been granted to Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, but the year after his resignation, namely, in 6 Richard I. we again have a return of the issues. This clearly shows that when the earldom of Northumberland was granted out the earl got everything, the king retaining nothing to himself, and therefore the earl must have had his own sheriff, justices, and ministers, in fact he must have exercised *jura regalia* within his earldom.

The enjoyment of all these liberties by the earls of Northumbria points to a very large degree of independence down to the time of the Conquest, and I would suggest that for the most part the regality of the Northumbrian kings was continued in the person of the earl, who exercised *jura regalia* over all his lands north of the Humber. This, I think, gives a very good reason for the non-appearance of the counties of Durham and Northumberland in *Domesday*. The earldom of Morkar, which was the Yorkshire described in *Domesday*, had come into the king's hands with all its rights by the treason and forfeiture of that earl, but the northern part of the old earldom, namely, Durham and Northumberland, was at the time of *Domesday* in the hands of earl Alberic and bishop William de St. Carilef of

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Durham, and as nothing went into the royal exchequer from these lands there was no need to survey them.

The next question is, over what lands were these privileges exercised, in other words, what were the bounds of Northumbria? When the kingdom was founded by Ida, it extended from the Firth of Forth on the north, to the Humber on the south, the North Sea forming the eastern boundary, but how far west the kingdom went is a matter of some uncertainty. Kings Ethelfrith and Edwine, in the seventh century probably, extended it in this direction in their wars against the Strathclyde Welsh, and made Strathclyde a tributary kingdom. In the reign of Ecgfrid, who ruled at the latter part of the seventh century, we learn from Beda that Strathclyde was incorporated with the kingdom of Northumbria; and we know that Ecgfrid granted to the church of Durham, Carlisle and "Cartmel with all its Britons." This incorporation was probably only temporary, as we find very shortly afterwards the names of independent kings in Strathclyde. In the next century Galloway severed itself from Northumbria; and in the latter part of the ninth century, when the Danes settled in Northumbria, the Strathclyde Welsh, taking advantage probably of the troubles of their former rulers, enlarged their kingdom towards the south, as we find Eugenius described as king of Cumbria; and we know, from a return by the convent of Carlisle, that the kingdom of Cumbria extended on the south to the river Dudden.[a] In 945 Edmund the Elder conquered all Cumbria, and gave it to Malcolm, king of the Scots. Shortly after this, in 975, Edgar ceded Lothian to Malcolm's son Kenneth. Mr. Robertson ignores the cession at this date, and does not put it till 1018—after the battle of Carham. Professor Freeman also throws a shadow of doubt upon the former date, claiming the superior authority of Symeon of Durham, in the tract *De obsessione Dunelmi*, of which he supposed Symeon to be the writer, but Mr. Thomas Arnold, the editor of the Rolls' edition of Symeon's works, states that there is absolutely no ground for ascribing its authorship to Symeon, beyond the fact that the tract occurs in the same volume which contains the *Historia Regum*, the insertion of Symeon's name in the title being an unwarrantable addition in a sixteenth century hand. In another tract *De primo Saxonum Adventu*, of which Symeon is also supposed to be the author, is an account of the cession similar to that given by Roger of Wendover and John of Wallingford, the chroniclers who place the date at or about 975. This cession of Lothian reduced the boundary of the earldom from the Forth to the Tweed. The kingdom and earldom were at various times extended in a southerly direction, but

[a] Hodgson, vol. i. p. 143.

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this does not materially bear upon my paper. We have therefore the boundaries of the earldom before it was divided by Morkar, and within this area there are and have been certain palatinates and liberties, viz.—Durham, Lancaster, Richmond, Holderness, Hexham, Tynemouth, Tynedale, and others.

Firstly, with regard to Durham. In going carefully through Symeon of Durham's two chronicles, there does not appear to be any mention of the exercise by the bishops of Durham, previous to Walcher, of the regal rights which were afterwards claimed by them. Before the Conquest the bishops of Durham without doubt had certain privileges over their lands. We know that Guthred granted them soc and sac and infangentheof; and from the Yorkshire part of *Domesday* we learn that the lands of St. Cuthbert were quit of all custom to the king and earl. According to Symeon of Durham, William the Conqueror attempted unsuccessfully to levy a tax upon the episcopal lands, and afterwards confirmed to the bishops their privilege of being quit of all custom. But of the palatinate rights, which the bishops afterwards enjoyed, there does not appear to be any evidence at all; there is, in fact, evidence to show that Durham formed an integral part of the earldom of Northumbria before the time of Walcher, and afterwards, down to the episcopate of bishop Anthony Bec, it was only considered a liberty within the county of Northumberland. The earls of Northumbria seem to have had a voice in the appointment of the bishops. Symeon states that earl Siward reinstated bishop Egelric in the episcopate against the protests of the monks; and Tostig, we are told, appointed his successor, Egelwin. At a later date prince Henry of Scotland, as earl of Northumberland, claimed the right to appoint his father's chancellor, William Cumin, to the see, in the place of William de St. Barbara, elected by the monks of Durham. When Durham was besieged by the Scots under Malcolm, son of Kenneth, it was not the bishop and his men who drove the enemy from the episcopal city, but Uctred, son of earl Waltheof, who defeated the Scots with his men of Northumbria and Yorkshire. Again, when Robert Cumyn was appointed earl of Northumbria by William, it was at the city of Durham that the people collected together and slew him. Had he been going to rule over the modern county of Northumberland only, why should the people of Durham have risen against him? And when William came the same year to avenge the death of Cumyn, if it was not to punish the people of Durham, why should bishop Egelwin have fled with the body of St. Cuthbert to Lindisfarne? In the account given by Matthew of Paris, Roger of Wendover, and others, of the murder of bishop Walcher, it is stated under the year 1075, "In the same year Walcher bishop of Durham, contrary to pontifical dignity, mixing himself with secular cares, bought the earldom of Northumbria from William." They would hardly have

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said this had the bishops of Durham previously exercised the duties of earls within their lands. The dispute also which led to Walcher's murder seems to have been a jealousy between his lay and clerical advisers, which would not probably have occurred within the lands of the see, as it appears to have done, had the bishops previously exercised the authority of earls. William de St. Carilef, the successor to Walcher in the bishopric, certainly continued to exercise the duties of an earl and to enjoy *jura regalia* over the lands of the see. In proof of the former statement, we find that when he appeared before William Rufus and his council to answer concerning his share in the conspiracy of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, to place Robert of Normandy upon the English throne, the king and Lanfranc would not hear of his being tried otherwise than as a feudal tenant, and would not permit him to appeal to Rome until he had delivered up his castle, the evident appendage of a territorial lord (see Symeon, *De injusta vexatione Willelmi*). We know also that William de St. Carilef exercised *jura regalia*, for in the foundation-charter of the convent of Durham, dated 1082, speaking of the lands of the see, he states "In quibus omnibus sanctus Cuthbertus et ejus episcopus omnes dignitates et libertates quae ad regis coronam pertinent ab omni servicio et inquietudine imperpetuum liberas, munitas et quietas cum omnibus eisdem pertinentibus possideret.[a]

In further proof that Durham formed a part of the earldom of Northumbria, it may be urged that the wapentake of Sadberg, in the south of the modern county of Durham, containing probably all the lands between the Tyne and Tees not pertaining to the see, belonged to the earls of Northumberland; this, I think, clearly points to the fact that all the lands north of the Tees had belonged to the earldom, otherwise how should this small outlying district have come into their hands? The people of Northumberland also claimed as belonging to their earldom the vills of Burdon, Carlton, and Aycliff, and the right to hunt in the woods of the lands of the see, and to take timber sufficient to build a ship. Their claims were only set aside by a charter of Henry I. in 1109,[b] granting all that they claimed to the bishops of Durham. From the proceedings in *Quo Warranto* of 21 Edward I.,[c] which terminated in the lands of the see being seized into the king's hands, we find that the jurors presented *inter alia* that the bishop had his chancery, and by his writs and by his own justices he pleaded in his liberties of Durham, Sadberg, and Bedlington, which it is stated "are within the precinct of the county on this side the Coket."

Taking all these facts into consideration, I would suggest that the palatinate

[a] Dean and Chapter Records, Durham, *Orig.* i. 1, *Pont. B.* 1.

[b] See Confirmation Roll, 6 Eliz. No. 10.

[c] See *Placita de Quo Warranto*, etc., King's Bench, crown side, Northumberland, 21 Edw. I. $\frac{M}{20}$ 9.

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rights enjoyed by the bishops of Durham were inherited from the earls of Northumbria, and did not belong separately to the bishops previous to the time of bishop Walcher.

Next with regard to the Liberty of Hexham. In 678 Hexham was erected into a bishopric, but in 821 it became united to the see of Lindisfarne; the lands of the see of Hexham, of which Hexhamshire formed a part, would consequently have descended to the see of Durham, and have partaken of all the privileges granted to such lands. It appears that about the beginning of the reign of Henry I. it was severed from the see of Durham and given to the archbishopric of York, for we find that in 1112, Thomas, archbishop of York, instituted a priory of regular canons there and gave the prebend of Salton to it. Little is known of the history of Hexham, by reason of the priory with all its records having been burnt by the Scots in the reign of Edward I.

On the Assize Roll for 1256[a] we find that the bailiffs of Hexham denied the right of the king's coroner or sheriff to enter the liberty, showing that *jura regalia* must have been exercised in it at that date. These royal liberties were probably acquired in virtue of the lands of the see of Durham and they were afterwards transferred to the see of York.

Within the liberty of the prior of Tynemouth we know that *jura regalia* were also exercised. This monastery was founded by earl Waltheof, who gave it to the monks of Jarrow in 1080. Earl Alberic afterwards granted it to the monks of Durham, but when Robert de Mowbray succeeded to the earldom it is stated that on account of the enmity between him and bishop William he expelled the monks of Durham, and in 1093 gave the monastery to the abbot of St. Alban's. The monks of Durham at various times laid claim to the monastery but without success. In the register of Saint Alban's there is the enrolment of a charter by Henry I. to the abbot of Saint Alban's granting to St. Oswin of Tynemouth "his court and customs as ever earl Robert had them in the time of my brother." Here again it would seem that the liberties of the earl of Northumberland over these lands were simply transferred to the prior. Henry II., Richard I., and later kings confirmed the *jura regalia* to the prior, and we find a presentment on the Assize Roll above-mentioned for 1256 that the predecessors of the prior of Tynemouth had their court as well of pleas of the forest as of the Crown, and had all profits of the same pleas, wreck of the sea, and chattels of fugitives, and whatsoever pertains to a king within their liberty by charters of the predecessors of the king.

[a] Assize Roll, 40 Hen. III., Northumberland, m. 15.

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Concerning the liberty of Tynedale, we know from the *Iter* of Wark and the *Placita de Quo Warranto* of 21 Edward I., that the kings of Scotland exercised *jura regalia* within it. Henry, heir apparent to the crown of Scotland, obtained the earldom of Northumberland from king Stephen in 1140, at whose death it was conferred on his younger son William. On the death of king Stephen, Henry II. resumed the earldom, leaving William only the liberty of Tynedale, which was enjoyed by him and his heirs, kings of Scotland, till the attainder of Baliol. It is here likewise evident that the regal rights exercised within the liberty were the remains of the more extensive franchise which Henry of Scotland and his son William enjoyed as earls of Northumberland.

It is with some reserve that I attempt to add anything further to what has already been written about the origin of the palatinate of Lancaster. In the *Domesday Book* the northern part of the present county of Lancaster is contained under Yorkshire, and the southern, or that between the Ribble and Mersey, is entered separately after Cheshire. Both portions of the county had formed a part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, and were afterwards incorporated with Northumbria, but the land between the Ribble and Mersey seems to have been alternately Mercian and Northumbrian. It is shown by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that in 923 it was in Northumbria, but shortly afterwards it must have become Mercian, in which earldom it probably remained till after the Conquest. In the Pipe Roll for 31 Henry I. it is taken under Yorkshire and Northumberland. William the Conqueror, it is supposed, granted the honour of Lancaster to Roger of Poitou, younger son of Roger Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury. A large portion of the lands in the south of the county of Lancaster is assigned to him in *Domesday*, and we find in the Pleas of the Forest of Henry earl of Lancaster, held in 10 Edward III. that the prior of St. Mary's at Lancaster claimed certain liberties by charter of Roger earl of Poitou, who, he stated, was sometime seized of the whole honour of Lancaster. The charter upon which he pleads is enrolled in the Duchy of Lancaster Cowcher Book, liber I. p. 177. Roger of Poitou was banished in the reign of Henry I., when his lands were confiscated. The land between the Ribble and the Mersey, if it ever formed a part of the honour, was at this time separated from it, and granted to the earls of Chester, from whom it passed to the Ferrers earls of Derby, after whose downfall in 1266 it was granted to Edmund Plantagenet earl of Lancaster. The lands north of the Ribble seem to have remained in the hands of the Crown from the banishment of Roger earl of Poitou till the reign of king Stephen, who, it would appear, granted the honour of Lancaster to his third son, William de Blois, earl of Boulogne, Warren, and Mortaigne, upon whose death

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without issue the honour again came into the hands of the Crown. Henry II. granted it to his son John earl of Mortaigne, afterwards king of England, from whom it descended to Henry III., who granted it in 1267 to his second son, Edmund, at the same time creating him earl of Lancaster. The further descent of the honour is too well known to need remark. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy was of opinion that *jura regalia* did not exist in the county of Lancaster before the charter of 25 Edward III.,[a] but I think we shall see that in the northern portion they were of a very much earlier date. The charter of John earl of Mortaigne, before he became king, granting to the knights and freeholders of his forest of Lancaster license to assart their lands[b] is addressed to his "justices, bailiffs, ministers, and all his faithful subjects and friends, French and English," etc. Could John have addressed his charter to his justices if he had not enjoyed *jura regalia?* Again, a charter by William earl of Warren, granting certain liberties to the monks of Furness confirmed by Edmund first earl of Lancaster[c] commences, "William earl of Warren, Boulogne and Mortaigne, to all his justices, and bailiffs, and men of his honour of Lancaster," etc. For the same reason it is evident that he also enjoyed equal liberties with John. This takes us back to about 1150, just fifty years after the time that Roger of Poitou held the honour. May we not therefore presume that he also exercised *jura regalia*, and that he held his lands in the honour with the same liberties that earls Morkar and Tostig held them, as stated in the supposed forged charter to him by William the Conqueror? In this case the palatinate of Lancaster would only be a remnant of the ancient regality pertaining to the earls of Northumbria.

In the honour of Richmond, which William the Conqueror granted to Alan Fergaunt, earl of Brittany, and which descended through the earls and dukes of Brittany till it came into the hands of the Crown by the forfeiture of the last duke in the reign of Richard II., *jura regalia* were exercised from the time of the Conquest, and were confirmed by Richard II. Similar liberties were also enjoyed in the honour of Holderness, granted by William the Conqueror to Drogo of Holderness, who, it is stated, having poisoned his wife, fled out of the country. The honour was shortly afterwards granted to the earls of Albemarle, in whose hands it remained until it fell into the hands of the Crown in 1273, on the death of Avelina, sole heiress of the house of De Fortibus. It is probable that equal rights were also exercised in the honour of Pontefract, which William the

[a] See 30th Report of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records.

[b] See Duchy of Lancaster Cowcher Book, liber I. f. 133[d].

[c] *Ibid.* f. 130[d].

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Conqueror granted to Ilbert de Laci, whose descendant John de Laci was in 1232 created earl of Lincoln, from whom it eventually came into the hands of the dukes of Lancaster, and formed a part of the duchy.

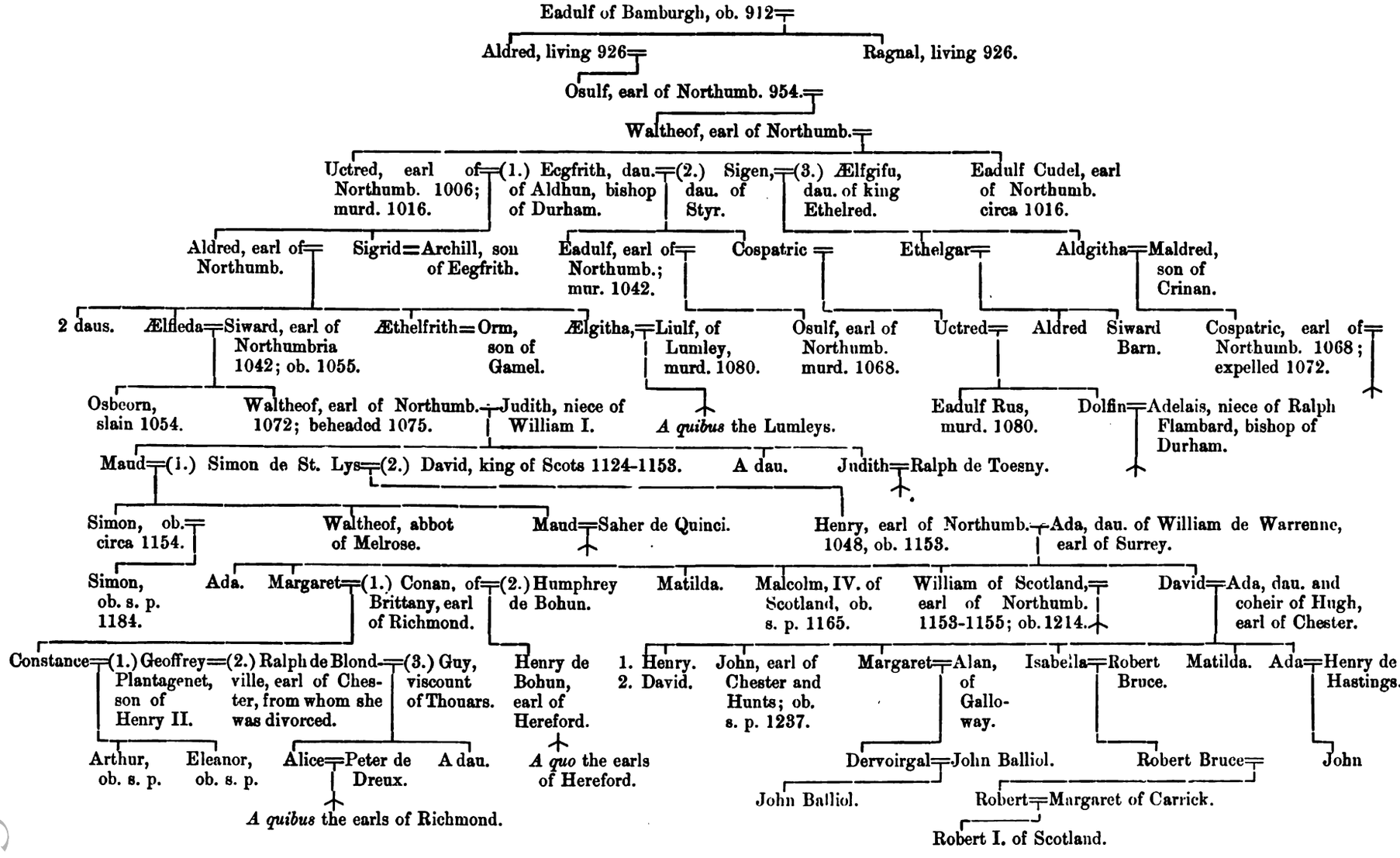
The origin of the *jura regalia* exercised in all these liberties appears to me to lie with the earls of Northumbria. It also seems that William, after the forfeiture of Morkar, probably thinking Yorkshire as it then existed too large a tract of country, with all the regal privileges of which there is little doubt it then enjoyed, to grant to one person, split up the county into honours, which he granted out to his followers, within which were continued the rights which the Saxon earls had exercised over the whole earldom.

What I have attempted, therefore, to show is, that the *jura regalia* enjoyed within the palatinates of Durham and Lancaster, the liberties of Hexham, Tynemouth, and Tynedale, and the honours of Richmond, Holderness, Pontefract, Pickering, Tickhill, etc., had their origin in the regality of the ancient kingdom and earldom of Northumbria.

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APPENDIX.

PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF BAMBURGH.[a]



[a] I am largely indebted to the Rev. Andrew E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A., in the compilation of the above pedigree.

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VII.—*Tobacco Culture in England during the Seventeenth Century.* *By* W. J. Hardy, F.S.A.

Read November 24, 1887.

Preserved amongst the English State Papers is a mass of material illustrative of the history of tobacco-growing in this country from the time of its introduction to the time when Government finally succeeded in suppressing its growth—a task which was not accomplished till nearly sixty years had been spent in vigorous legislation on the subject, so strong was the feeling of the British farmer in favour of retaining it as an object of cultivation. The outlines of the history of English tobacco-growing have been already sketched on many occasions, especially since the question has lately been before the public—the antipathy of James I. to the use of the "noxious weed," his contribution to literature against it, and the successive Proclamations and Acts of Parliament forbidding its culture; all these are matters that have been recently noticed, and need not, therefore, be enlarged upon in the present Paper, the object of which is to bring to the front existing evidence as to the extent of tobacco-cultivation in this country, its success, and the feelings with which its suppression was regarded.

Tobacco became popular in this country with remarkable rapidity; it was, consequently, not long in attracting the notice of the Custom House authorities, who placed upon it an import duty sufficiently large to yield a not unimportant sum to the revenue. Then it was that the farmer began to consider the possibility of growing tobacco at home. The trials proved successful, and in a few years sensibly diminished the demand for the imported article. James the First was, of course, ready to take any step which rendered tobacco more costly and

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difficult to obtain, and so lent a ready ear to the Custom House complaints against English growing, though at heart he regarded the importation of it as equally objectionable; indeed, but a short time before, in 1618, he had endeavoured to persuade the Virginia Company to cease growing tobacco, and cultivate silkworms.

At first its growth was declared illegal round about London, but that had little effect, so James sought a general prohibition of its culture throughout the kingdom. In order to get something stronger than personal feeling as a basis for this general prohibition, he invited the College of Physicians to certify their opinion "concerning Tobacco of y^{e} growth of England and Ireland, and whether the use of it be unwholesome and hurtfull to men's bodyes." The college held that "as it is nowe usuallye taken it cannot be but very unwholesome and hurtfull, and falling farr short of the perfection of other Tobaccoes that are brought in from other more southerne parts, where it hath its naturall maturity, vigour, and efficacy"[a]—words which show that the medical profession at the time did not share the king's opinions as to the use of tobacco of all kinds. Armed with this expression of opinion, James issued in 1619 (30 December) the first of the numerous proclamations against English tobacco-growing that appeared during the next half-century. Smoking tobacco, so the proclamation said, tended to the corruption of men and manners. Both growing and importing it were evils; but of the two, the latter was the least, and so all tobacco found planted in any part of the country was forthwith to be "utterlie destroyed."[b] This wholesale destruction must have fallen hardly on many. One of the first to complain was Thomas Biggs, "chirurgion from out of Nottingehamshere," who laid a very pitiful case before the Privy Council. For twenty years he had practised surgery, but of late "ladies and other gentlewomen" so frequently practised the art that "professors of the said mistire" could not maintain themselves, and so he had taken to tobacco-growing for medicinal purposes, unaware of the stringent proclamation.[c] He was a very humble petitioner, this poor surgeon, and only asked pardon for his misdemeanour, without any request for future indulgence. Other offenders were more difficult to deal with, as we shall see.

The proclamation was clearly not wholly a success, and James determined to seek the aid of Parliament in carrying out his repressive measures, which had

[a] *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. vol. iii. No. 109.
[b] *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. Proc. Coll. No. 74.
[c] *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. vol. cxv. No. 62.

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evidently aroused public indignation. In June 1624 a bill was drafted, though not passed, to restrain the planting of tobacco in England, Wales, and Ireland,[a] and "Reasones" were drawn up by the colonial planters "to prove that His Majesty may lawfully restrain the planting of English tobacco and not infringe the liberty, which the subject claims, to do what he will with his own groundes." The relations of Christianity, the Devil, colonisation, and the tobacco trade were duly pointed out. The reasons were such as would commend themselves to James, being based on purely moral grounds, the real objection of the "Reasoners"—injury to the plantation trade—coming in just at the end.[b] One of the king's last acts was to issue a proclamation prohibiting English tobacco-growing, couched in stronger terms than any of the previous ones.

Charles I. had no personal feeling as to tobacco smoking, one way or the other; but the Virginia merchants extorted a fresh proclamatiom from him in quite the early days of his reign; this proclamation also forbade the importation of "the weed" from any but our own colonies, a step taken to stop the influx of Spanish tobacco.

In May 1625 Henry Somerscales addressed the Council, stating that he had expended "his whole estate" in finding out the mystery of planting and curing tobacco, now prohibited by the late proclamation. He asks for a moiety of what has been seized.[c]

The struggle between the English planters and the Government had now fairly commenced. Proclamation followed proclamation, and offenders were threatened with increasing fines. But the real opposition emanated from the plantation merchants and their London agents. People in the country favoured the cultivation of the new crop, and so the threats from town were unavailing. Some growers were indeed bold enough to justify their objections to the proclamations in a letter to the Privy Council. The king was moved to inquire into the amount of tobacco actually growing in England and the adjacent islands. Reports were received from various counties. In Gloucestershire it was extensively cultivated. In Jersey and Guernsey "was a verye great quantitie" planted contrary to the proclamations, which the Attorney-General described as "having this further inconvenience—the taking away the bread from the inhabitants of those islands if their ground, fit for corne, be thus employed."[d]

[a] *Report on the Duke of Manchester's Papers* (*8th Report of Historical MSS. Commissioners.* Part II. App. p. 46). [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. vol. ii. No. 117.

[d] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. vol. cxvii. No. 15.

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Later proclamations had given power to various county officials to summarily destroy the tobacco they found growing; for it seems that Charles was becoming alive to the fact that home-growing was materially affecting the Customs. Strengthened with a further report from the College of Physicians, dated in 1628[a] (this stated that English tobacco "fell short" of tobacco from more southern climes), the Attorney-General, in 1631, commenced proceedings in the Star Chamber against the principal offenders in different parts of the country;[b] but whilst these were pending, the growers gathered in their crop and sent it to London "by secrete wayes," where it was sold for Virginia or Bermuda tobacco.[c]

In 1635, and again in 1636, the king issued his commissions to various persons, empowering them to compound with the offenders against the prohibitory proclamation.[d] Doubtless numerous offenders were brought to book, especially in Gloucestershire; but the profits from tobacco-cultivation tempted them to offend again, and so the prosecutions did very little towards producing the desired results.

On the 19th of June, 1636, the Privy Council wrote to Sir Richard Tracey and the bailiffs of Tewkesbury, informing them that they had received intimation of the fact that still "a greate store" of tobacco was planted at Winchcombe, Cheltenham, and Tewkesbury, contrary to the often-issued proclamations. They had also learned that "divers of the inhabitants of the said places" were so refractory as they not only opposed, but actually threatened harm to those who attempted to carry out the law by destroying the tobacco crop. The Council's letter concluded with a warrant to the constables to forthwith "pull up by the roots" all tobacco growing in the county, and directed them to attach for contempt any that opposed them.[e]

In March 1639 the farmer of the Customs brought to notice the continuance of the English growing "so oftene forbidden."[f] This is the last we hear about the matter in Charles's reign. Other more weighty matters now occupied men's minds. During the next few years the tobacco crops shared the same fate as the grain crops, and were trampled under foot by a ruthless soldiery.

[a] *Report on the MSS. of the College of Physicians* (*Historical MSS. Commissioners 8th Report.* Part I. App. p. 229).

[b] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. vol. ccv. No. 53.

[c] *Ibid.*

[d] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. Case D. No. 4.

[e] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. vol. cccxxvi. No. 65.

[f] *State Papers, Domestic,* Charles I. *Book of Petitions,* vol. cccciii. p. 66.

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But by 1652 affairs had settled down, so far as agriculture was concerned, and then we hear again complaints about tobacco-growing in England attracting the attention of Government, with the result that in the same year an Act was passed which set forth in its preamble that "divers great quantities of tobacco have been of late years and now are planted in divers parts of this nation, tending to the decay of husbandry and tillage, and the prejudice of the plantations abroad," and enacting, therefore, that none from the following 1st of May should "plant, set, grow, make, or cure any tobacco in any field or place within this country, on pain of a fine of twenty shillings for every rod or pole of ground so planted." Of this sum one-half was to go to the use of the Commonwealth and the other half to the benefit of the informer. The Act concluded by giving power to any person to enter any ground planted with tobacco, "and grub, cut up, destroy, and utterly consume" the crop.[a]

There is no reason, however, to suppose that this Act was more successful in its object than the previous proclamations had been; indeed, a general outcry against it led to a "favourable exposition" of it being obtained, and thus "many were saved from perishing," *i.e.* the Act was so construed by the authorities in London, on finding out the real feeling of the country, that it came to nothing at all. It was passed under pressure from a wealthy body, the Virginia merchants; and just at that time the support and friendship of the greater part of an English county was more to Cromwell than the friendiness of a trading corporation. But before long Cromwell himself felt the effect of the increase of English growing: the Customs duty was materially lessened, and so in 1654 the Protector listened the more readily to a petition from the Virginia merchants against English growing. Besides, in the two years that had elapsed, Cromwell's Government was more firmly established, and the goodwill of a portion of his subjects not of such vital importance to him. This petition came at the end of March;[b] and a month later the same subject engaged the Council's attention. An ordinance was then drawn up by the Protector and Council, empowering the execution of the Act of 1652, on account "of the great prejudice" to the English plantations in America, caused by the continued cultivation of tobacco in England.[c] Accordingly, those charged with enforcing the Act set about their business; and in Gloucestershire, where the feeling was the strongest, met with

[a] Printed in *Scobell's Acts*, April, 1652.

[b] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1654, p. of Cal. 65.

[c] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1654, vol. lxxix. Nos. 32 and 32A.

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similar resistance to that before encountered, or even stronger. They had destroyed a good deal of tobacco in one part of the county and another, but "durst not" destroy any about Winchcombe, as the inhabitants raised 300 armed men, horse and foot, "to resist the uprooting of the crops." Moreover, they gave out their intention of inducing the inhabitants of other places to join them in their opposition, saying "they were bred to the trade, and if they lose it they will lose their lives also." They bought up all the tobacco plants they could, and declared their intention of planting again, "for all that is destroyed." So the President of the Council of State wrote to the governor of Gloucester, telling him to put down all these "riotous assemblies," and to call out the "troop of horse in Gloucester if need be;"[a] at the same time, Colonel Scroope and Major Packer went down from London to "appease the uproar."[b]

But the Gloucestershire people were convinced that the destruction of their tobacco-crop was an infringement of their rights as free men; and a few days after the Gloucestershire troop had been ordered to enforce the rooting up of the tobacco, "divers poor men in and near Winchcombe" set forth their supposed wrongs in a petition to the Protector. "Providence," they said, "having promoted you to great trust, we address you;" then they told their story—how their earlier petition had practically made the Act of 1652 "of none effect." In 1653 they had been allowed the enjoyment of their crops on payment of the excise dues. Trusting to like clemency, they planted again in 1654. They did not justify their planting, and acknowledged the "rashness of those who assembled to defend their tobacco;" but they asked "toleration of this year's crop," promising in future not to plant without licence, though it had been their custom to do so for forty years. A hundred and ten signatures are appended to this petition.[c] The Protector was gracious, as they acknowledged their error, and allowed the petitioners to "enjoy" their crop till further orders were sent them. Meanwhile, Cromwell saw a way out of the difficulty; and on the 25th of August the Council passed an ordinance for empowering an excise on English tobacco. Thus for the first time was English growing actually sanctioned by Government. On the previous occasion when the growers had paid excise it was by special arrangement, and not by pre-enactment. It was unlikely that this arrangement (though it might obviate loss to the Government) would satisfy the private

[a] *State Papers*, 1654 (p. of Cal. 211, under dates 11 and 16 June).

[b] *State Papers*, 1654 (p. of Cal. 211, under date 15 June).

[c] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1654 (p. of Cal. 229, under date 30 June).

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sufferers from the English cultivation, namely, the plantation merchants; and on 6th of March, 1655, they attended at Whitehall with a petition from themselves and the inhabitants of Virginia against home growing.[a] The voice of the merchants prevailed. The President of the Council wrote to the justices of the peace for Gloucestershire, bidding them enforce the destruction of all tobacco they might find growing, and setting out the reasons which caused the Protector's leniency on the previous occasion. The Virginia merchants, he tells the justices, have complained of the losses they suffer owing to the great quantity of tobacco grown in England — trade, navigation, customs, and the plantations being impoverished by it. The justices were, therefore, to execute the Act in all its vigour, but at the same time, that none should suffer loss by want of reasonable warning, they are directed to publish this resoulution throughout the county, "that no person may pretend ignorance," and all may "understand that his highness expects conformity." If any suffered loss, it would then be by their own fault; and attempts at growing would be less excusable "on account of his highness's indulgence as to last year's crop."[b] Like letters were sent into the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Warwick, Oxford, Monmouth, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh, and Sussex.[c] This gives us an idea of the extent of English tobacco-cultivation at the period.

Apparently in order to provide those appointed to execute the Act with some golden reasons for their mission, the Council sent with the commission a string of reasons "why no tobacco should be planted in England:" these were, that its culture occasioned "the confluence of 1000 dissolute persons who labour but a quarter of a year;" that it had injured the general trade of the city of Gloucester, and other market towns; and that its use bred disease, "as it cannot in this climate be fit for use."[d]

These vigorous measures had the desired effect for a time; and we find the tobacco question no more occupying the attention of the Council till June 1658. At that time various persons, thinking, probably, that the storm had blown over, were "preparing to plant vast quantities" of tobacco; and the Council renewed their instructions for suppressing its growth.[e] The Gloucestershire authorities

[a] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1655 (under date 6 March 1654-5).
[b] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1655, under date 27 March, 1655 (p. of Cal. 100).
[c] *Ibid.* p. 101.
[d] *Ibid.* p. 201, date 7 June, 1655.
[e] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1658-9 (p. of Cal. 55, under date 8 June, 1658).

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consequently proceeded once more to enforce the Act; but the resistance they met with was as strong as ever. One of the officers writes from Gloucester at the end of July: "Our hopeful proceedings are clouded, for this morning I got together thirty-six horse, and went to Cheltenham early, and found an armed multitude guarding the tobacco field." The force broke through the mob, and got into the town; but there they found "no peace officer, a rabble of men and women calling for blood for the tobacco [already destroyed], so that had there been any action, blood would have been spilt." The soldiers, however, stood firm, "and with cocked pistols, bade the multitude disperse." The multitude, however, was not frightened by the soldiers' cocked pistols; and just then two hundred men from Winchcombe came up, and the troop retired. The writer who tells all this adds, that ten men could not in four days destroy the tobacco then growing round about Cheltenham,[a] so that its cultivation must have proceeded rapidly during the two or three years that had elapsed since its general suppression. This is hardly to be wondered at, since, clearly, only the London interest was opposed to it. The county authorities acted when compelled; but, left to themselves in the matter, as they had been since 1655, secretly encouraged the cultivation of tobacco. In this letter the writer says the "cornet" of the regiment "would not act," and the justices "rather hinder than help me."[b]

During the next few years, when people were thinking about the possibilities of the Restoration, the subject of tobacco culture dropped from public attention, and we hear nothing of it till after the monarchy was again in working order. Then the voice of the Virginia merchants once more made itself heard, and Parliament passed in 1660 "an Act for prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of Tobaccho in England or Ireland."[c] The Attorney-General drew up a proclamation commanding the execution of this Act, adding that those who resisted it would incur a fine of 5*l.* and "the king's high displeasure."[d]

Early in the year 1663 an Act "for the encouragement of trade" enforced increased penalties on those who grew tobacco in England, as it was considered that in insufficient fines lay the real cause for the failure of previous efforts to stop the growth of "the weed."[e] Upon passing this Act the farmers of the Customs petitioned that their officers might be assisted by the military, as well

[a] *State Papers* (Cal. 1658-9, p. 104, date 31 July).

[b] *Ibid.*

[c] 12 Car. II. cap. 34.

[d] *State Papers, Domestic*, 29 March, 1661 (p. of Cal. p. 550).

[e] See Statutes.

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as by the sheriffs and their servants, in destroying tobacco which they found growing.[a] It does not appear whether or not this request was granted; if it was, it evidently had but little effect; and in 1667 certain "proposals" were drawn up at Bristol for the destruction of English tobacco. These evidently emanated from the Customs officials there. The late Act had not worked—so the "proposals" said—and the reason that it had not lay in the fact that the power of destruction was too limited.

A curious picture is then painted of the extent of English tobacco culture, after nearly fifty years of legislation to put a stop to it. It was grown throughout Gloucestershire, even on the lands of the justices of the peace; and, as half the profit of the crops was paid to the owners by way of rent, the justices' interest in it prevented them from enforcing its destruction; and this in the face of a personal order which the king had just given, to the effect that (in a long list of places where the plant was growing) it should be cut down, and the names of the growers returned to the Privy Council. The "proposals" suggested what was, perhaps, the only remedy, namely, that the judges of assize, who would have no personal interest in the question, should, in visiting the different counties, order returns, setting out what had been done towards putting in force the prohibitory Act, and inflicting fines for neglect. The "proposals" also suggested that a strong prohibition be issued against its sale in Gloucestershire, and that powers of search be granted to other than local persons.[b]

All, or nearly all, these suggestions were embodied in a further Act of Parliament, drafted in 1669,[c] but not passed till 1671;[d] and the prohibitory efforts were at last attended with success. In four years' time we find the suppression of tobacco-cultivation in Gloucestershire (and that was the principal place of growing) spoken of as a feat already accomplished.[e] The Act was renewed by James II. on his accession in 1685, and by William III. in 1699; but, though occasional instances of offence are on record,[f] there was probably little need for

[a] *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles II. vol. lxxvi. No. 5.

[b] *State Papers, Domestic*, for 1667 (p. of Cal. 366).

[c] *Report on House of Lords' Papers* (*8th Report of Historical MSS. Commissioners Report.* Part I. App. pp. 138-9).

[d] Act 22 and 23 Car. II. cap. 26.

[e] Report on the MSS. of Mr. Alfred Morrison. Letter from Sir J. Ernley to one of the Commissioners of Customs, 16 June, 1675 (*9th Report of Historical MSS. Commissioners.* Part II. App. p. 450).

[f] See *Treasury Papers*, 1694 and 1697.

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these renewals. The English growers had been defeated, and the plantation merchants were victorious.

Few, I think, have pictured in our country forefathers a feeling so strongly in favour of retaining tobacco as an article of home cultivation. That its culture was successful there can be, from the foregoing evidence, no doubt. What was the quality of the crop produced, we have, of course, now no means of ascertaining, but it was certainly a plenteous one.

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VIII.—*A Letter of Sir Henry Lee, 1590, on the trial of Iron for Armour; by the Honourable* Harold Arthur Dillon, *F.S.A.*

Read December 8, 1887.

The Letter from Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armoury to Elizabeth,[a] addressed to Lord Burghley, which forms the subject of this paper, has not before been printed. It is calendared among the State Papers, in the Public Record Office,[b] and is holograph bearing the date 12 Oct. 1590.

It is chiefly interesting as recording a trial of war material in the days of Elizabeth; and also showing that then, as now, or till very lately, England was dependent on Germany for an important portion of her military stores.

This had been the case for some time previously to the date of this letter; and we may just glance at the state of things as regards munitions of war in the sixteenth century.

From the first years of Henry VIII.'s reign, arms and armour were regularly sought for and imported, from Germany, Italy, and Flanders.

In 1509 we find Louis de Fava and Leonard Friscobald, both Italians, selling large supplies of armour to the king.

In 1511 Henry despatched Richard Jerningham and two other gentlemen of his court to Germany and to Italy to buy arms and armour. Some of this was for his own personal use; but, besides such, Jerningham in 1513 reports to him his having made very advantageous bargains at Milan for 5000 foot soldiers' suits, or "Almain rivets."

At about the same time Henry, through Wolsey, had negociated with a Florentine merchant, Guy de Portenary, for 2000 Almain rivets; and in the deed

[a] Sir Henry Lee was appointed to the office of Master of the Armoury by letters patent of June 9, 22 Eliz. (1580). His military services not less than his devotion to Elizabeth, as displayed by him in the tilt-yard, led his royal mistress to bestow on him in 1597 the exceptional honour of the Order of the Garter.

[b] Domestic Series, vol. ccxxxii. 92.

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executed we have the definition of the term as in use in 1512. The "2000 complete harness, called Almayne ryvettes," were to be "according to a pattern in the hands of John Dauncy, accounting alway a salet, a gorget, a breast-plate, a back-plate, and a pair of splints, for every complete harness at 16 shillings the set." The splints here mentioned were short taces to protect the front of the thighs.

The price had risen since 1509, when 8 shillings, and in this same year 1512 11 shillings, had been paid for the same suits of armour.

Large quantities of cast and wrought iron and brass guns were also caused to be made at Mechlin by Hans Popenruyter.

It has generally been stated, that the art of casting iron guns was unknown in England until about 1543, when—

> "Master Huggett and his man John
> They did cast the first cannon."

This event is said to have occurred at or near Buxted in Sussex, in 1543.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who consulted the records in the compilation of his history of the reign of Henry VIII. says, that "great brass ordnance, as cannons and culverins," were first cast in England by one John Owen in 1535; and that about 1544, "iron pieces and grenades were first cast." The facts as to time and place, however, seem to be different, for in September 1516 there occurs a payment of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to John Rutter of London for "hurts and damages by him sustained in a tenement to him belonging wherein the king's great gun, called 'the Basiliscus' was cast, and for rent." In 1532 Carlo Capello, the Venetian, writes that Henry "visited the Tower daily to hasten the works then going on there, and was founding cannon and having gunpowder made." This was in anticipation of the Scottish war.

There is, in May, 1516, a payment to John Hurdy, a fishmonger, "for four bundles of Isebroke stuff for making parts of armour, 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*,"[a] and in April, 1517, a payment of 26*l.* 12*s.* to John de Mery "for 2541 lbs. of steel plate of Isebroke, and Lymbrickes stuff."[b] These items will call to mind Othello's speech:

> "I have another weapon in this chamber;
> It is a sword of Spain, the ice brook's temper."

This has generally been supposed to mean a sword the blade of which had been plunged into some ice-cold stream in the process of tempering. But, oddly

[a] *Calendar of State Papers.* Henry VIII. vol. ii. [b] *Ibid.*

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enough, the old quarto gives the correct reading, "Isebrooke," which in the folio was changed to "ice brook"; and Stevens and others have endeavoured to identify the Salo, now the Xalon, with such a stream. In Isebroke we have the English name for Innspruck, a town as famous as Augsburg and Solingen for the manufacture of high-class steel. The reading "Isebroke" is thus most natural, allowance being made for its having become by Shakespeare's time an expression for a superior blade, and its association with Spain being merely by way of intensifying the excellence.

Such being the case, we may suppose that the "Hungere" iron mentioned by Sir Henry Lee was not necessarily of Hungary, but of the western parts of Germany.

In 1520 Henry caused two armourers, Rauffe Brand and Richard Pelland, to go to Flanders and Germany for the purpose of purchasing arms, etc., especially such as were used for the jousts and tournaments in which that monarch took such a delight, and in which all writers of the day, foreign as well as English, assert that he proved himself so proficient.

All through this and the three subsequent reigns we find mention of purchases abroad of arms, armour, and gunpowder; and in Henry's reign not only were cannon bought in large quantities, but cannoniers, as well as gunstone or cannon-ball makers, were obtained from Germany. If the foreign guns were better than the English, it is however satisfactory to find that there were men in those days who believed in the superiority of English gunners.

Though in 1509 the directions to Sir Nicholas Vaux, Lieutenant at Guisnes, state that all his garrison were to be English, except gunners, crossbow-makers, spies, beer-brewers, armourers, and smiths;[a] in 1514 Thomas lord Darcy tells Henry that he hopes whatever gunners are allowed him (at Templehurst) they will be English, and not strangers;[b] and in 1534 Sir Christopher Mores writes to Cromwell, "I had rather have one Englishman as he is than five strangers for gunner's work."[c]

The next year, however, we find Mores sent with Dethick "a Dutchman born, and by occupation a forger of Armore for the king at Greenwich"[d] to Lübeck and Denmark, whence they returned in a few months with some hundred gunners and old soldiers.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to plant the armourers' art in England, and in 1514

[a] *Calendar of State Papers.* Henry VII. vol. i.
[b] *Ibid.* [c] *Ibid.* vol. vii.
[d] *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Braziers in the City of London.* London, 1878.

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established the Almayne armourers at Greenwich and in Southwark; and in the same year there are payments for wages for the armourers of Milan and of Brussels, but the metal on which they worked was foreign.

In 1530 an attempt seems to have been made to use English stuff, for among the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber is the item: "Five angels paid to Sir Laurence Skarboro (Starber) knight of Germania for the conveyance of certain ores from this realm to Norembarge, to be there tried to the perfectness of their metals."

What was the result of this assay we do not know, but it was evidently unfavourable; for the purchase of foreign arms and armour continued through the century.

In 1556 Sir John Mason reported to the Council his having obtained 50 fardels of plate iron for harness provided by the Schorers from Augsburg; and, at the present day, it reads strangely in "Considerations delivered to the Parliament in 1559," "That iron mills be banished out of the realm; where wood was formerly 1*d.* the load at the stack, now, by reason of the iron mills, it is 2*s.* the load. Formerly Spanish iron was sold for five marks the ton; now there are iron mills English iron is sold at nine."

Neither in the above notices, nor in Sir Henry Lee's letter, does the Sussex iron appear; but the price of wood recalls the destruction of the forests of that county.

In a report in 1634 on the subject of the manufacture of armour we are told, that battering mills had been established in Elizabeth's reign at Deptford by a Captain Martin, and Germans were brought from Innspruck to teach the English workmen. However, in the year 1634 there was only one German left, and he would not teach.

The report goes on to say, that the best plates came from "Innspruck, which served Millan, Naples, etc., and lately, England."

In 1629 there were 21 workmen in the armoury whose wages amounted monthly to 35*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* It was said that no other workmen could make tilting armour; yet there was only one of them who could make a complete armour.

Sir Henry Lee was evidently more interested in the welfare of his armourers and their families than in the development of a new national industry; and his sentiments were shared by others.

As to his views on the probably increased use of armour, though they were wrong, yet they were those of a man who had travelled much, had fought well on the Scottish border, and had commanded a battery at the successful siege of Edinburgh in 1573; on the conclusion of which he was the first Englishman into the

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castle, being hoisted in as a hostage for Kirkcaldy of the Grange during the discussion of the terms of surrender.

The following is the text of Sir Henry Lee's letter :—

"May it please your good Lordship in the time of Mr. Secretary who God hath latly called to his mercy, he was very desirus to prefere to the comodyty of some fewe as I take yt, certayne Ierne metell w^h^ grewe or was made in Sropshere or ther abouts in the possessyons of a gentellman whos name I knowe not, never makynge me aquaynted w^th^ his meanynge. To give the more credyte to that stuffe to the armourers of London and to Jacobi the Mr. workman of Grenewhyche, the Counsell apoynt in there presence that S^r^ Robarte Constable and my cossyn John Lee shoulde see a proof made w^h^ by tryall proved most usefull.[a] After thys I beynge come to the Court and the matter ernestly followed by some, he intrusted me (a new brest beyng sent owt of the contry of gret litenes and strengthe as he was made beleve) to cause another of the very same wayght to be made in her Ma^tys^ office of Greenewhyche w^h^ I presently performed, then he inbresed (? *ordered*) me to make a trial of them bothe w^h^ all indyfference which I dyde in the presence of a chefe servant of his, and other gentlemen. I chose a good and stronge pystolle, I took very good powder and weighed it, so I dyde the bulletes and w^h^ equall charge I tryed fyrste the one and then the other; that made in the Offyce and of the mettell of Hungere helde out and more than a littell dent of the pellet nothinge perced, the other clene shotte thereowe and much tare the overpart of a beme the brest-studde upon as longe as my fyngeers. Thus muche for this Yenglyshe mettell. I most umbly beseach y^r^ Lordship informe her Ma^ty^ what prejudysse is lyke to follow to the wholle compene of the armorers, beynge very many th^t^ lyve on that trade w^th^ ther wyves and chyldren, beynge powre men and such as may be evill spared in any grete scare or where warres may happen as well by sea or land. To drawe so necessary a trade into few men's handes it will undone the whole compenee. The armour made of Yenglyshe stuff wrought some one or fewe Inayched[b] (*etched*) and all the rest badge. Trewe yt is good

[a] Proving of arms was evidently customary at this period, for among the accounts of the Ordnance, it is stated that over twenty-two hundredweight of the two sorts of powder corne and serpentine were expended between 17th November 1558, and 4th October, 1559, "in provinge of gret Ordynance harquebuttes and daggs."

[b] The expression *Inayched* is not clear, but by *badge* may be meant armour painted black.

"Their hands and faces were all badged with blood."—*Macbeth*, ii. 3.

In a report of the stores at the Tower in 1564 is "The making black of v^c^ corslets p^t^ of Gresham's provision drowned in the sea v years past and by reason of the salt water will by no means be kept clean except they be blacked at 5/ the pece.

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armour demynishethe not the bowldnesse of a man and of the towe, very good Lorde, yt is better to have an armore of evill shape and good mettell than of good shape and evill mettell. But yf yt please youre good Lordshipe and the rest of my Lordes of her Ma^{tys} Counsel, I do not see but ther may be hadde made here wth in the reme and upon a reasonable rate, both of good shape and good stuffe. And they to serve into her Ma^{tys} store shuche a proportion yerely as may be agreed upon their abilite considered, now as yit is upon all occasions either by sea or lande for longe vyages or shorte trade of marchandyse ther is innough to be found. The worlde as yt is lykelye to use more hereafter than in the tyme paste therefore not to be spared.

"Under your correctyon ther is fewe that deserve more to be cherysshed, and this trade brought into the hands of few who wyll mayntaine no more than may enrych themselves. How will Her M^{ty} be served or the dayly nede of others supplyed.

"I am an umble suitor in their behalves w^{h} I take to be necessary for my country and carytable for so powre a compene. And so I umbly take my leve prayinge for you and restynge to serve you as your Lordshipe hathe moste bounde me.

"Frõ Woodstocke the xii of October 1590

"Your Lordshypis umbly to commande

"Henry Lee."

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IX.—*On some Ancient Paintings in churches of Athens.*

By N. H. J. Westlake, *F.S.A.*

Read June 30, 1887.

The accompanying notes are made for the purpose of introducing to the Society the beautiful copies of ancient frescoes from the churches of Athens which have been lent for exhibition by the Marquis of Bute. His lordship had these copies made during his stay at Athens in 1885. He has given a full account of them in an essay on "Some Christian Monuments of Athens," published in the *Scottish Review* (July 1885), and the descriptions of the pictures given in this paper are quoted from his lordship's essay. These paintings and the monuments containing them are of course subject to decay, but they are, it appears, in greater danger of wilful destruction from speculative excavations to unearth monuments more ancient, or from attempts to make use of the materials of such monuments for new buildings. It is from no wanton vandalism that such destruction arises, but it is evidently the result of the uncultivated condition of the present race of Athenians. In the article in the *Scottish Review* the writer thus comments on this unsatisfactory state of things:—

> A decree of Otho I., dated May 20, 1836, placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Public Worship every ruined church in Greece, however important historically or however precious artistically, as a mine for the building of new places of public worship, the new University of Athens, &c. This decree is conceived as if no such things as History or Art existed. The results have been terrible, and Finlay, as an eye-witness, speaks of "the destruction of numerous mediæval churches which formed a valuable link in the records of Athens, and an interesting feature in Athenian topography, while they illustrated the history of art by their curious and sometimes precious paintings."[a]

Since the above was written, the interesting series of paintings from the church of *Megale Panagia*, Plates VIII. and IX. have perished by fire; these drawings have therefore acquired, accidentally, much art-historic value, as they are probably the only trustworthy records of the work. It is also most fortunate that the copies are so beautifully and truthfully drawn.

Of the mural paintings that decorated the churches of Byzantium there is probably less known, even to antiquaries, than of any other species of ancient

[a] *Scottish Review*, vi. 87.

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art. I have searched in every direction that could be suggested to me, and no drawing appears to have been published of any example which can at all be relied upon as giving the character and condition of such work.[a] On this subject I shall have more to say hereafter.

In bringing these copies of frescoes to your notice formally, it has seemed evidently the better plan that I should commence with the description quoted from the article in the *Scottish Review*.

To this description such notes of additional information as I have since acquired will be added.

Plates V. and VI. are from some of the Parthenon paintings; their relative position is shown in Fig. 1. Plates VIII. and IX. are from the church of *Megale Panagia* (Our Lady), and Plate X. from the church of *Asomatos Taxiarches* (St. Michael); both of these latter are in what is commonly called the Stoa of Hadrian.

We will take the Parthenon paintings first in order; the following quotation from the before-mentioned essay gives a most accurate description of them:

When the Parthenon came into use as a church[b] the changes made in it seem to have been very slight. What they precisely were is a matter of dispute. In any case, however, it is certain that the principal entrance was transferred from the east to the west end, the east end was closed, and the new sacred objects were placed at the east end of the hekatompedon instead of at the west, where the ancient ones had stood. At this time the opisthodomos was first thrown open to the public and became a kind of narthex. It is precisely the western part of the opisthodomos which is the only portion of the cella now left standing—to any considerable height. The polished internal surface of these walls is covered with Christian paintings, which, although in a lamentable state of decay, and additionally marred in consequence of having been plastered over by the Turks, enable the student to recognise the hands of at least two artists of different periods, and one portion of which—viz. that on the north wall—is unrivalled in interest among the paintings of Athens. The style indicates a very early period, even if these designs do not actually date from the period of the conversion of the building to Christian uses. The paintings on the west and south walls are much later; the wall is there marked out into large rectangular divisions by strong red lines, surrounded by busts enclosed in large red circles. The spaces inside the straight lines have been filled with pictures of Scriptural subjects, in large masses of paint, backgrounds and all, on a much smaller scale than that of the busts, and the inside of the circles containing the busts has likewise been painted over. Of the subjects, only a few isolated figures and, to the south of the door, the group commonly called the *Epitaphios Threnos*, can be made out. The manner in which the paint has been applied to the surface shows a most painful want of appreciation of the precious beauty of the material, and was

[a] In the various volumes of the *Annales Archéologiques* M. Didron has given some accounts of Christian paintings in Greece, with some slight illustrations by M. Paul Durand.

[b] Early in the seventh century.

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perhaps partly caused by the desire to efface the earlier designs, of which, however, a few traces seem to be still recognisable. The whole bears the marks of having been restored at different times, and a bit of decoration at the south-west angle is about as bad as can be imagined. Even the north wall has not escaped restoration. The work is in such a state that it is not easy to judge very accurately of the original colours employed, but a coarse green which appears in some places has every sign of being an addition, and much doubt must be felt as to a purple, chiefly conspicuous in the heavy line of demarcation drawn between the figures of the lower and of the two upper tiers, which is itself somewhat suspicious.

That the interior walls of the Parthenon, as well as of similar buildings, were painted, is known, and the peculiar manner of treatment is a study of much interest. The principle of the ancients in such matters was the same as that which prevailed in the best period of art of Western Christendom—the French art of the thirteenth century. Where the material was stone or plaster, it was entirely covered with paint and colour; but where it was in itself precious and beautiful, as marble or ivory, the colour was only used in lines and isolated spots such as the folds of drapery, and thus, like a face-patch upon a delicate skin, enhanced instead of concealing the beauty of the surface. The remarks of classical writers and what is known of the pigments employed alike lead us to recognise a small but admirable expression of these principles in the exquisite picture of women playing at knuckle-bone, executed in deep red lines upon a white marble slab, which forms one of the artistic treasures of the great museum at Naples.

That the original paintings of the inner walls of the hekatompedon were thus treated on an heroic scale is, antecedently, almost overwhelmingly probable, and it is therefore a fact of the deepest artistic interest to find that such is the treatment adopted upon the north wall of the opisthodomos by the Christian artist. The conclusion is almost inevitable that when he was employed to decorate the virgin surface of the walls of the opisthodomos, he imitated the ancient decoration of the hekatompedon. In striking conformity with the great picture by Polygnotus at Delphi, described by Pausanias, the whole is divided into three tiers, above a space at the bottom which doubtless contained indications of a dado. The lower tier of figures, as has been remarked, is separated from the others by a line of decoration of more doubtful antiquity. The figures themselves are rather above life-size. They are boldly sketched in red. Whether a sort of orange has also been employed is difficult to tell, on account of the tone which the Pentelic marble itself assumes after the lapse of ages. These figures are not even united in groups, as in the work at Delphi, but stand simply facing the spectator in attitudes of repose and dignity. That names were originally attached to them is probable, but if so they have disappeared, and the whole work is indeed in such a condition of decay that it affords little more than indications from which it is possible to recognize the principles upon which it has been executed.

On the western exterior wall of the Parthenon, south of the door, and at a considerable height from the ground, is a small mediæval sketch in red outline, which seems to have represented the Blessed Virgin and Child enthroned, with an Angel approaching on either hand. On the opposite (north) side are several inscriptions in black letter (Gothic), but they are now apparently illegible.[a]

[a] *Scottish Review*, vi. pp. 95-98.

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It is common knowledge to antiquaries that in all periods of art, even from the earliest, there have been four dominant methods of execution (without con-

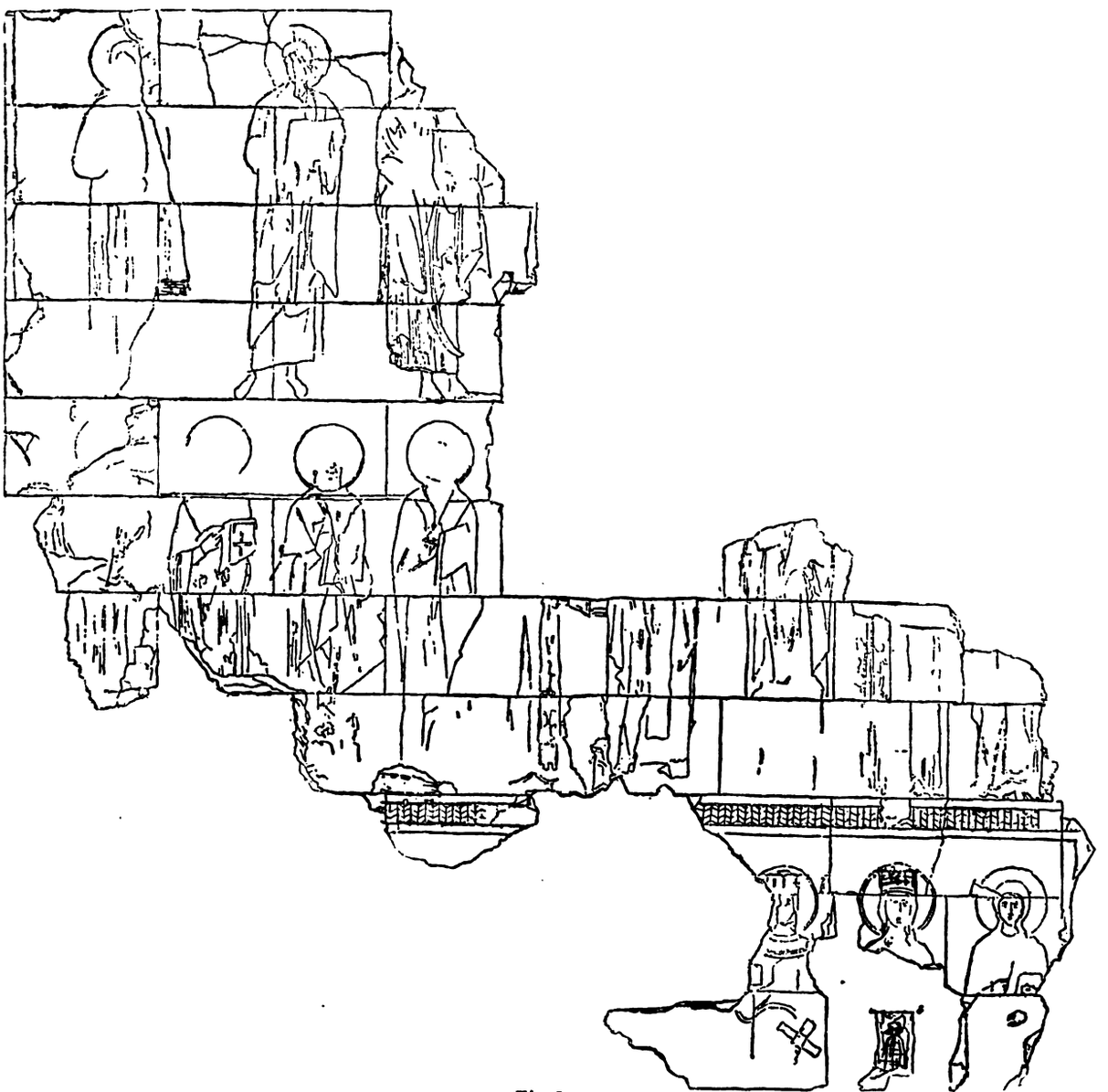


Fig. 1.
DIAGRAM OF THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE PAINTINGS SHOWN IN PLATES V. AND VI.

sidering their many sub-divisions); they are, 1st, designs in mere outline; 2nd, designs in outline, with slight modelling, or, as it is sometimes called, shading

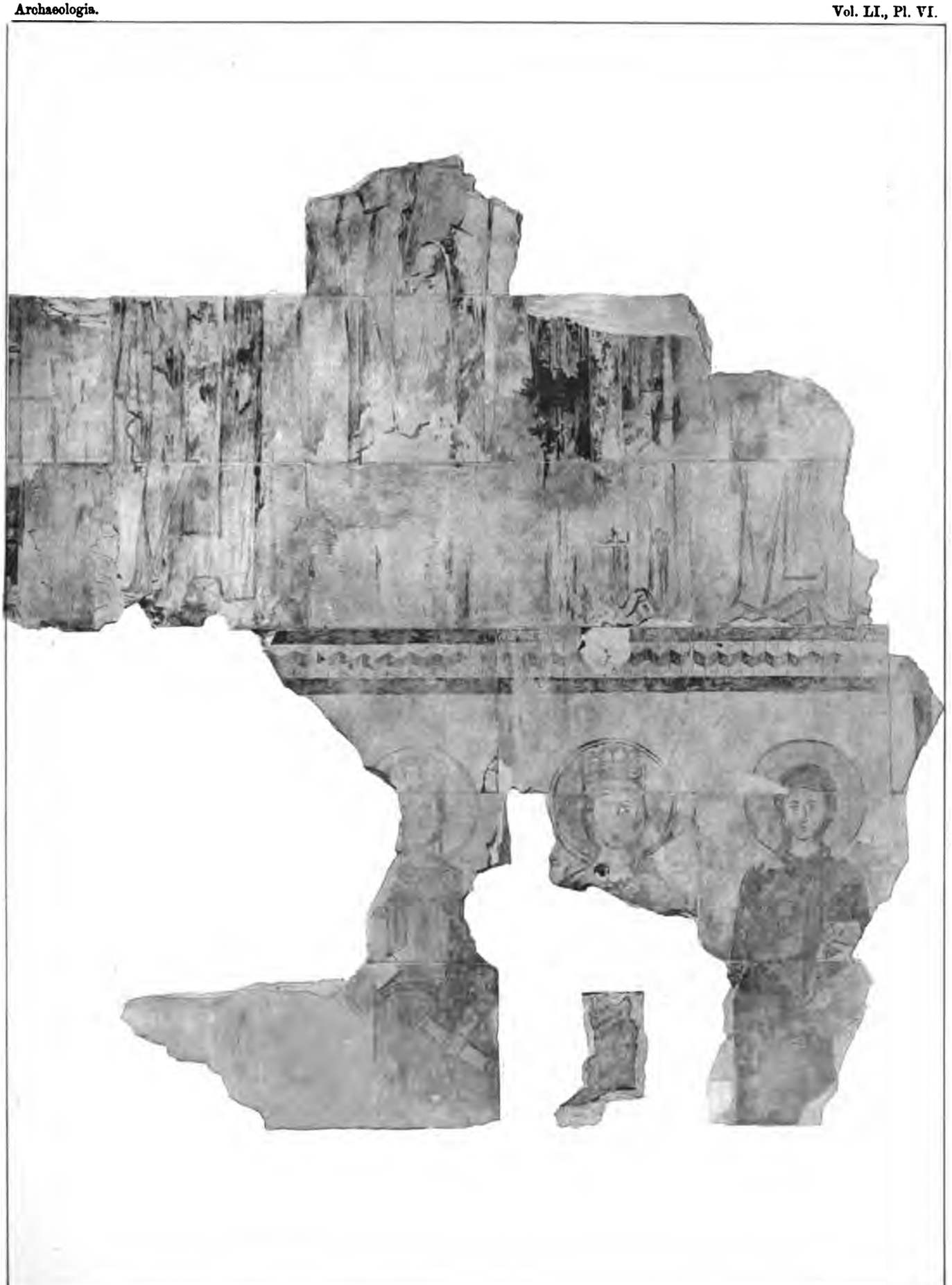
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CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS IN THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS.

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W. GRIGGS COLLOTYPE.

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CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS IN THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS.

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of the draperies and flesh; or 3rd, when not shaded, outlines filled in with flat masses of colour; 4th, designs in which modelling, shading, and colouring are fully intended.

It is probable that in the Parthenon all these styles were once represented, and in addition to the paintings there was mosaic, in which material there was a picture of Our Lady, portions of which existed within the memory of living persons.[a]

We have evidence from the drawings now before us that the Byzantines practised all these methods. Some light is also thrown on their practice in this respect from an examination of monuments in England, France, Germany, and elsewhere, which were either painted by Greeks or by those educated by them.

Perhaps the most complete series of paintings existing in the west, and most closely illustrating the work under notice, is that in the church of St. Savin, in the department of Vienne, France. I have placed rough tracings of these, from the work of M. Seguin, in the room, in order that the Fellows may in some way judge of the resemblances and differences between these and the works from Athens. In this church some of the subjects are in outline filled in with flat colour, the drapery being delineated by darker lines of the same colour. In the apse they are fully modelled and finished in a delicate way, as far as the capacity of the artist would allow.

The practice of placing the more solid and highly-wrought work in the most important positions is universal in early Christian art; I mean where there is, from economical motives, any difference of execution. It is, of course, the most evidently sensible plan. Reference is made in the quotation from the *Scottish Review* to the practice of dividing out the subject by mere lines, single or double. This common sense method is also universal. It is found at St. Savin, in France; in the paintings in the Byzantine style at Ganthem and Mästerby churches in Gotland;[b] in the roof of St. Michael's, Hildesheim; and in very many churches of other countries, as well as in England. No attempt has been made to fix a certain date to the work of the Parthenon, shown in the drawing (Plates V. and VI.); indeed, without something more than the paintings themselves to go upon, it would be a hazardous, almost an impossible, undertaking, in our present knowledge of such work. Superficially, there does not appear to have been a great difference of period between the work exhibited from the Parthenon, the mosaics in some churches in Rome, and the frescoes at St. Savin, in France, which

[a] See *Scottish Review*, vi. p. 95, note.

[b] Illustrated in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. ii. N.S. pp. 87-88, plates xxiii. and xxiv.

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last were executed, according to M. Prosper Mérimée, from the years A.D. 1050 to 1300.

Costume is undoubtedly one of our greatest aids in assigning periods to works of art; but of costume in this drawing there is so little of any special kind that we are almost as helpless as we should be without it. The little I refer to consists of the head-gear (crowns) and the portions of the dresses remaining on the lower figures.

On Plate VII. I have sketched a variety of early crowns for comparison.

Full-sized drawings of the mosaics of SS. Agnes, Justinian, and Theodora, showing these crowns, are in the South Kensington Museum.

It is to be regretted that the illustrations of crowns on the figures given in Messrs. Texier's and Pullan's work[a] are not facsimiles of the ancient paintings, but made up, as the authors tell us, from other works and manuscripts.

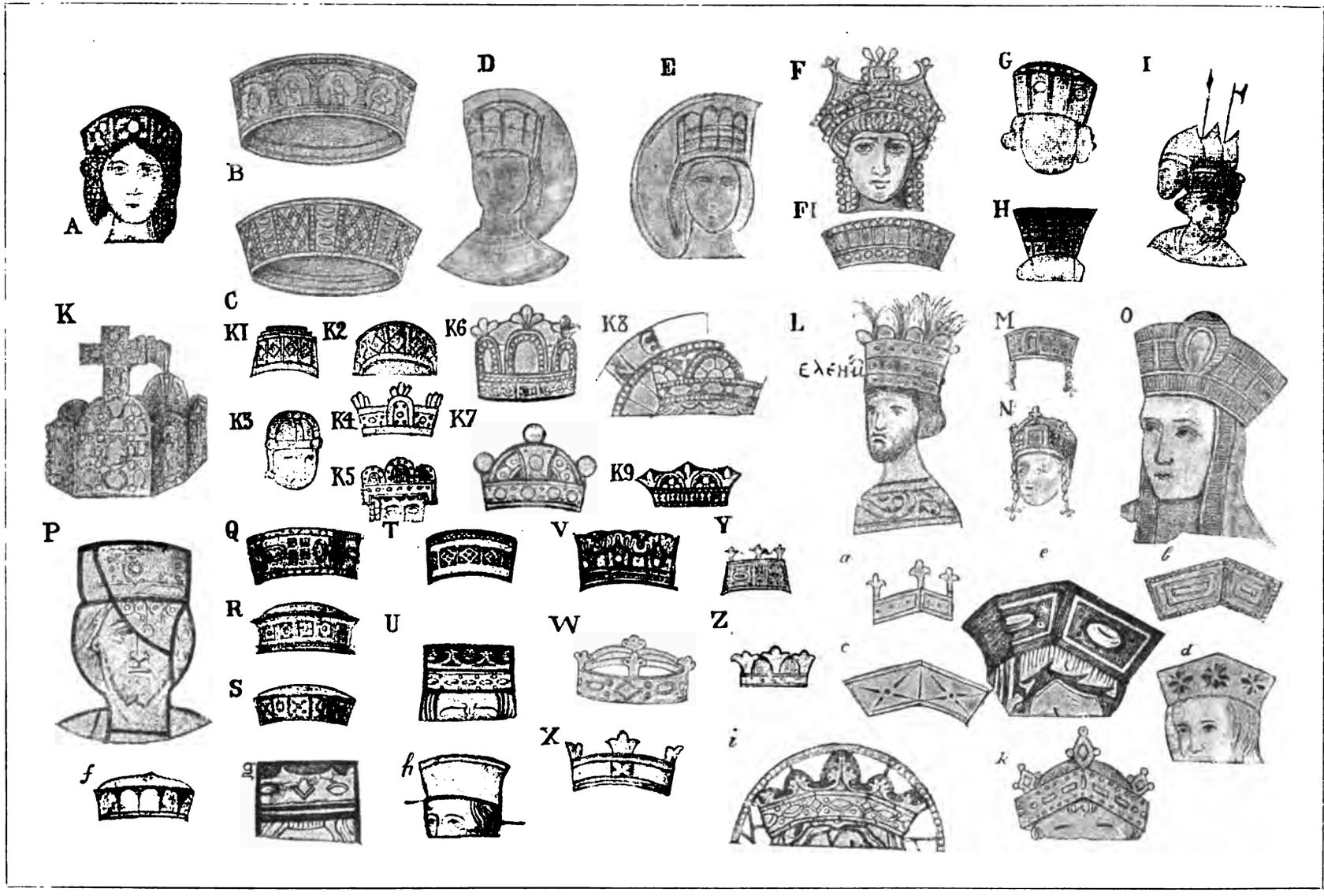
The two crowns in the Parthenon paintings are unlike any other ancient examples that I have been able to find. The nearest resemblances are, however, in a Greek MS. of early date. It consists of a Psalter and Canticles, and was written by Theodosius of Caesarea, archpriest, in the year A.D. 1066. This MS. is now in the British Museum (Additional 19352). The art which accompanies this MS. consists of little figures or subjects generally placed in the border; it is of a high class and somewhat similar style to the drawings from the Parthenon, although it may perhaps be considered a little later from its more certain conventionality and from the subjects having the appearance of having been drawn in accordance with a recipe.

The crowns on the figures from the Parthenon appear to be made of flat arched plates, after the fashion of that of Charlemagne, etc., decorated with upright columns or lines of pearls, and covered at the top like a cap, whilst around them, parallel to the line which surrounds the head, are other rows of pearls. Now in the Caesarean MS. (Plate VII. Fig. L.) we have on the head of Elihu a curious crown with circular forms surmounting it, and the crown itself surrounded with lines of pearls; in Plate VII. Fig. G, another sketch from the same MS., there are the upright bars and the arched top, but the pearls are arranged only upon the upright bars; whilst in another instance, Fig. H, still in the same MS., we have a crown increasing in size upwards without an arched top, and made of small square plates, pearled in the centres.[b] All these examples are of about the same pro-

[a] *Byzantine Architecture*, by Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan. London. 1864.

[b] A crown precisely like this is worn by St. Helena in a MS. of the fifteenth century; see Labarte's *Histoire des Arts Industriels* vol. ii. pl. LXXXVIII. So that this form continued in use for a considerable period.

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SKETCHES OF VARIOUS FORMS OF CROWNS WORN FROM THE FIFTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

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portional height as those from the Parthenon, and higher than any others I have found except that on the head of Alexis in Messrs. Texier's and Pullan's book. In the same MS. there is a lower crown in the same style (Plate VII. Fig. I.) which brings us into touch with many others found in mural paintings and MSS. of various dates, from that found on the head of St. Agnes at Rome, Fig. A, and those of the Lombard Princes of the seventh century, Figs. B. and C (from D'Agincourt), to those on the heads of Justinian and Theodora at Ravenna (Figs. F and F 1), to that of the imperial crown of Charlemagne and others of his period (Figs. K, K 1, K 2, K 3, K 4), to those from a king and queen at the north doorway of Chartres cathedral church of the twelfth century Figs. R. and S, and to those from a king in painted glass of the same century in the clerestory of York Minster, Fig. P.; until we find it gradually developing into its medieval form, sprouting with leaves, as in the examples of the twelfth century from St. Denis, St. Rémi at Rheims, etc., Plate VII. Figs. U, V, W, etc., and of the thirteenth century from Chartres, Fig. *i.* Even its ostensible form in other materials is found in caps of maintenance (coronets), etc., down to the sixteenth century. Plate VII. Fig. *f.* from the well-known English MS.[a] executed for the nuns of Chicksand about 1330, is a good example. The arched tops have also survived in some countries, as is shown in Plate VII. Fig. K 5, from "King Saul" in the Harleian MS. 2803, of the twelfth century; in Figs. K 6, K 8, K 9, from Strasburg cathedral church, and in others from St. Elizabeth's, at Marburg, of the thirteenth century, Fig. K 7. These circular-topped crowns seem to have survived longer in Germany than elsewhere, whilst the floriated crown, so frequently seen in the Anglo-Saxon MSS. and coins, is most common in England. It is most probable, as I have elsewhere argued,[b] that the exceptional example, Plate VII. Fig. P, from York[c] is by a French designer. I have reserved mention of the crowns at St. Savin, Plate VII. Figs. *b, c, d,* to the last, because they seem to form a link between the work in France and in Greece, allied as they are to work executed in the same style, to draperies of similar design, and heads of similar character.

The more free classic drapery of the Parthenon painting (without the continual concentric folds or the ever-recurring angular loop-ends to the folds) resembles in a degree the mosaic work in the apse of St. Agnes at Rome, the

[a] Arundel MS. 83. British Museum.

[b] *History of Painted Glass*, vol. i. p. 42.

[c] The crowns of the English kings at Fontevrault are somewhat of this fashion. See Stothard's *Monumental Effigies.*

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frescoes at St. Savin, and the Greek MS. of 1066, but whilst it is more conventional and rude than the Roman work it is less so than either of the others; in fact, if the localities where these examples are found were in proximity instead of being distant from each other, it would be fair to place the date of the work absolutely between that in St. Agnes and the Greek MS.

An interesting question arises here. We know the peculiar character of Greek work that the Russians still adhere to. It is the hard, small-folded style of drapery with its many angular loops for fold-ends. We see it to a great extent in very ancient Greek sculpture, it is subdued in the work of Phidias and of his era, but it is pronounced again in certain Byzantine work, especially in small paintings. It appears to be a method of representation congenial to the Greek mind, it is most crude and pronounced in archaic times, and it reappears at intervals in periods of decadence. It is also found in our own early work and in that done under Byzantine influence on the continent up to the twelfth century. In Germany the tradition lingered till late in the sixteenth century; but it will at once be observed that the figures from the Parthenon under our notice are not drawn in this crude style.

The same may be said of the work at St. Savin, of which I have already spoken; indeed it is more after the manner of the Christian art of the Parthenon; therefore I suggest that the original artist employed on this work was one who had studied in the best schools of Athens or Constantinople.

This would account for some resemblance in style between the French and Greek work, and for the resemblance of the head-dresses in the St. Savin paintings and those found in the Greek manuscripts.

My argument, then, is summed up in this; that the style of the design and drawing of the painting from the Parthenon is anterior in Byzantine art to the more angular style. If so, this work is probably as early or earlier than the tenth century. But there are still three points to be considered. They are (1) the style of execution apart from design, (2) the colouring, and (3) the probable date of the band of zig-zag, the only ornament in the drawing. Judging from the copies before us, the Parthenon figures are by the best artist, they excel more than the others in dignity of expression and repose, and the drawing is more thoughtful.

In the St. Savin work and in the Greek MS. already quoted there is more flippancy allied to a more set or mannered style of design.

Between the MS. and the wall-paintings there is of course no resemblance of colour; that pigment which would be permanent on parchment would be soon

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decayed on the wall. There is, therefore—for the reason that mural painters habitually use earth colours—a stronger resemblance between the tinctures at Athens and those at St. Savin. The yellow ochre, and the red formed from it, when calcined, are the principal colours, though of course there is the difference between the Greek and French ochre; the blue would, I suppose, be "smalti" or cobalt, in either case, whilst a carbon-black and some few earth-reds would also be available; the greens are of two kinds—one bright, probably arsenical, the other dull, and made of the blue or black and ochre mixed. The greens of arsenic and terra vert are most subject to decay, as they do not adhere to the silicious walls. The white, both in the Athenian and French work, is a thin silicious pigment.[a] Apart from the pigmentary resemblances, the difference in design and execution is very much in favour of the Parthenon work.

Concerning the zig-zag decoration (which is a sort of brick-pattern, and bears a resemblance to our own Norman zig-zag), this ornament, or one somewhat like it, is commonly found in the works of the Lower Empire, and in some Italian work, and, if I am not mistaken, in the very early decoration at Temple Cowley. It is certain that it was in use in the eleventh century, for in one of the borders of the Queen Melissendos MS.[b] it is found in a fully-developed and fully-coloured state, the bricks being red and blue on a gold ground, divided by white lines.

My notes on this one drawing are longer than I intended, but as short as I have found it possible to condense them; many remarks, however, anticipate arguments concerning the other two paintings.

Within the group of ancient remains to which the term "Stoa of Hadrian" is vaguely applied, is the Church of the *Megâle Panagía*. It is in the very midst of the Bazaar, behind the

[a] I think the following description of the character of the pigments at St. Savin applies also to those from the Parthenon, shown in the drawing.

The white covers very little (is very transparent), scales and decomposes; the inscriptions (in the nave in white) are illegible. Black is seldom employed except in making grey, which is often used. The yellows and the reds (probably burnt ochres) are well preserved. The blue is often decayed, and is probably smalt or cobalt, both of which adhere badly, and assume in decay a green and dirty appearance. The green (at St. Savin) is rather brighter than usual, and may have been a natural earth or a green *smalti* (unknown to the Greeks). The dates assigned by M. Mérimée are:

Up to 1050 the choir and chapel of Our Lady.
,, 1050, nave, crypt, vestibule.
,, 1200-1300, up to Narthex.

[b] MS. F. 6 f. British Museum.

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row of shops, and a little west of the wretched clock-tower by which Lord Elgin chose to commemorate his removing from Athens the most valuable sculptures in the city. The days of this church are probably numbered, and it is already in such a state of ruin that there is little to preserve; but the fact lends an additional interest to it at the present moment.

* * * * * * *

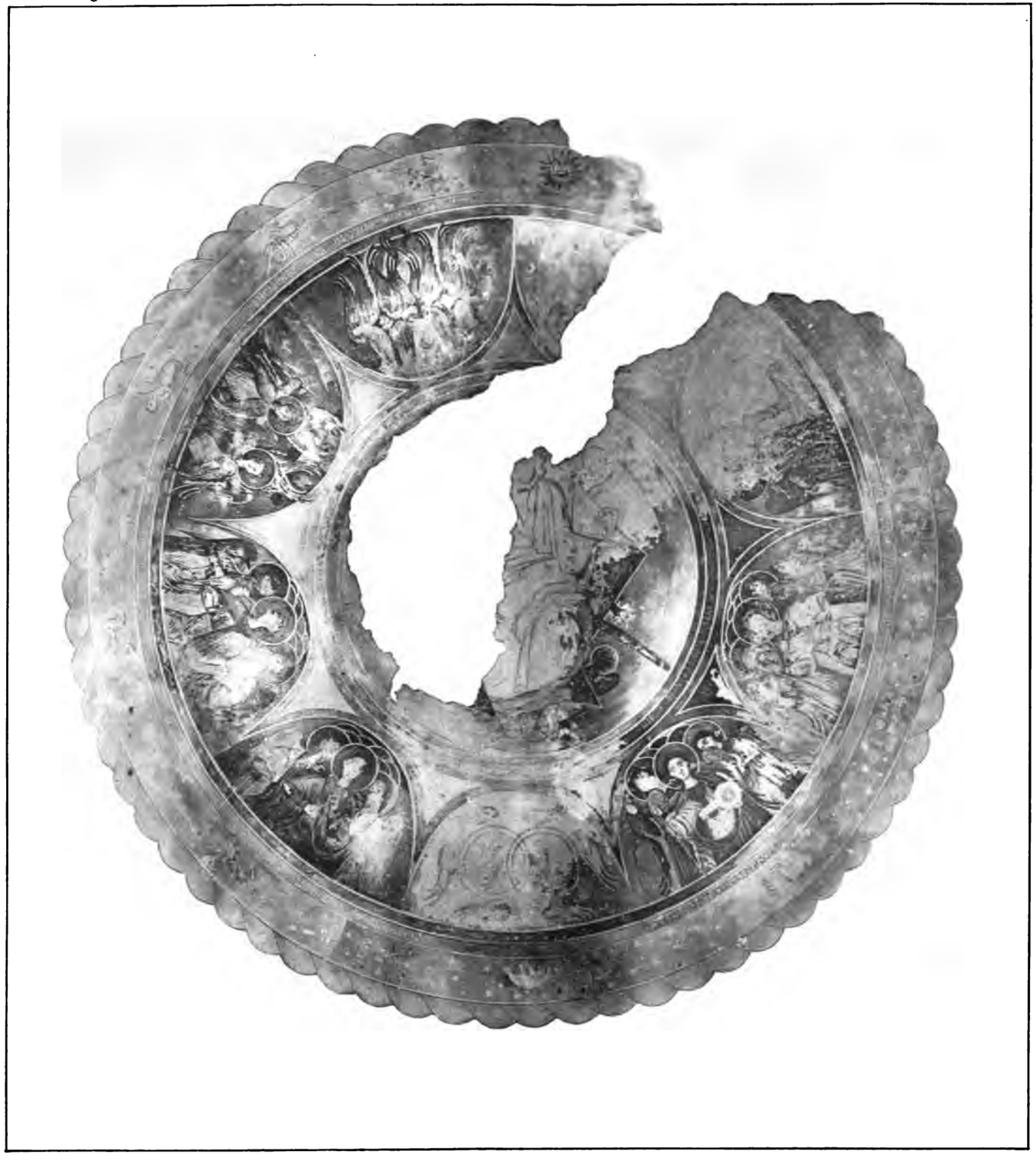
The most interesting part of the iconography is the dome, which has no proper clerestory, but has had four windows, pierced in its lower part, producing somewhat the same effect. The decorative treatment of domes is always an interesting and difficult matter when a single connected subject including figures is attempted, as it is not easy to find any great variety supplying a central subject and a series of concentric groups surrounding it. The idea of this dome is very happily conceived. The thought is taken from the three last of the Psalms, which form together the group called collectively the *Ainoi*, and so popularly known and used; texts from this group are abundantly introduced into the borders and upon the open spaces of the deep blue background which prevails throughout the treatment. In the centre is the Christ, not, as usual, a bust, but full-length, enthroned, with His feet resting upon the mystic winged wheels. Next come a series of nine semicircles pointing inwards, and containing representations of the nine Orders of the heavenly Hierarchy, the names being inscribed in the spandrils between the semi-circles. The scale of the figures is less than that of the Christ. Underneath the Angelic Hierarchy and above the windows is a great circle representing the firmament, in which the signs of the Zodiac are figured at regular intervals, and in which are the sun, moon, and stars. The positions of the sun and moon seem intended to mark the date of the Assumption (August 15). Between the windows are the terrestrial subjects (7). To the south of the East window are representations of the dragons, like classical hydras; then come the deeps, as whirlpools, and strange conventional forms of the fire, hail, snow, ice, and stormy winds; then begin the mountains and all hills, the fruitful trees and all cedars,—and here the dome has unfortunately given way. The next thing is a band of Jews (14) to the north of the West window, next to whom are a group of praiseful saints supporting a typical church. Beyond this, time has been hard upon the paintings, but there are still perceptible a band of virgins giving praise in the dance, and groups of musicians singing with instruments. The spandrils of the dome seem to have been occupied, as usual, by the four Evangelists.[a]

The central figure, our Lord in Majesty, has previously attracted the attention of archaeologists. Amongst these, M. Didron, who, in a dissertation upon the Imperial dalmatic in the Treasury of St. Peter at Rome,[b] introduces a drawing of the inter-wheeled seraphs, which are under Our Lord's feet, from the Athenian work, for the purpose of comparing them with those under the Majesty embroidered upon the dalmatic. It is one of the evidences upon which he pronounces

[a] This description is from the article in the *Scottish Review*, vi. pp. 102, 104-5.

[b] *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. i. p. 156.

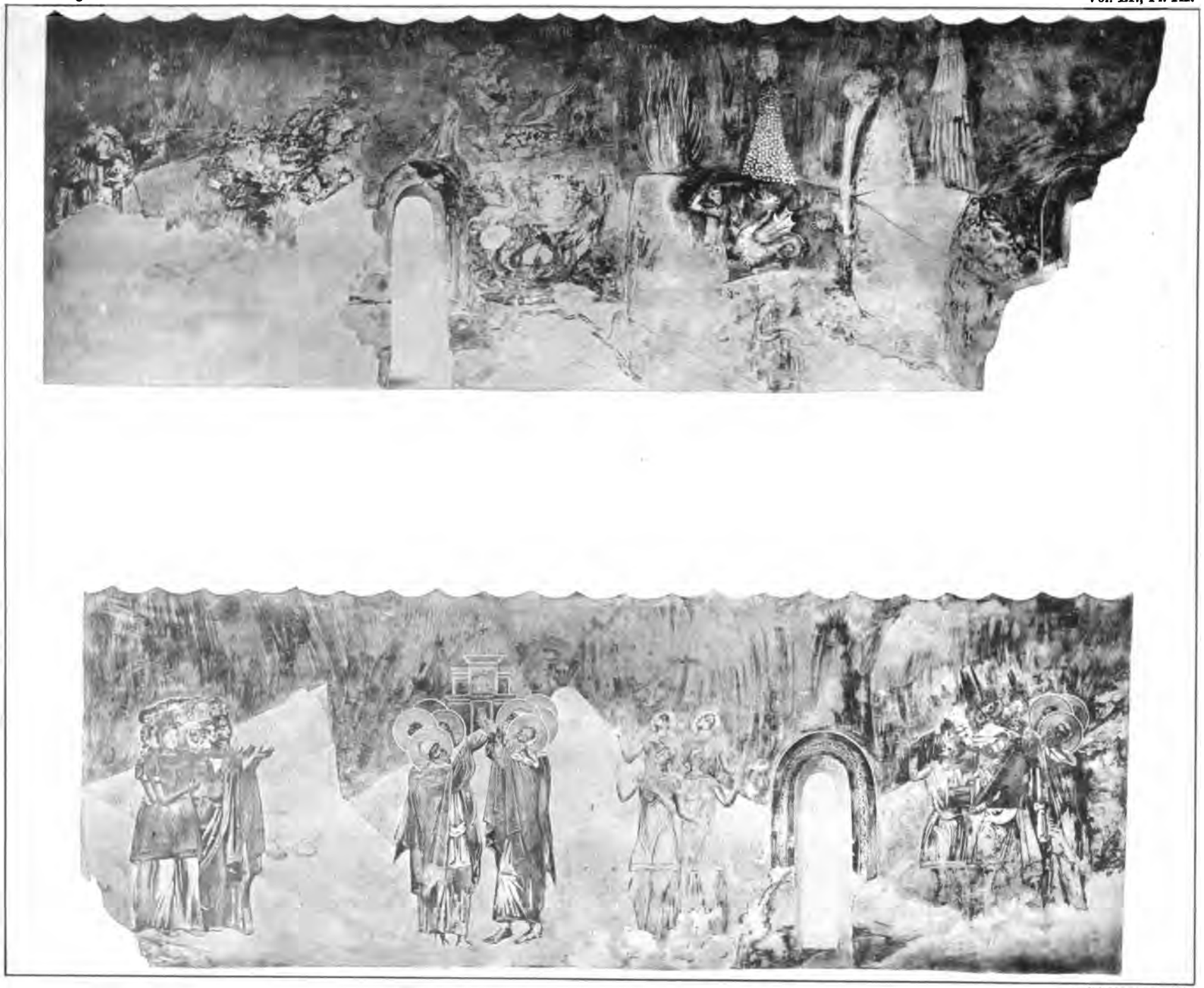
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PAINTINGS FORMERLY IN THE CHURCH OF MEGALE PANAGIA AT ATHENS.

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W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

PAINTINGS FORMERLY IN THE CHURCH OF MEGALE PANAGIA AT ATHENS.

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that vestment Byzantine. The head of our Lord upon the latter is, however, that of a beardless youth.

M. Didron considered the frescoes to be of the twelfth century, but they may be even earlier, as in excavating near the foundation M. Lampakis has found an inscription which proves the church itself to have been erected in the ninth century.

My own impression is, that the date of the fresco is nearer to that of the Imperial vestment than to the twelfth century, and not very much later than that of the foundation of the church itself.

In the portion which decorates the upper portion of the dome there are two peculiarities, neither of which is of frequent occurrence. I allude (1) to the lozenge-shaped form around Our Lord, and (2) to the previously-noticed inter-



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

FIGURES OF OUR LORD FROM THE DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE.

wheeled cherubim. One instance of the latter is upon the Imperial dalmatic (fig. 2), another in the dome under notice, and a third in a dome at Mount Athos, a drawing of which is also given by M. Didron in the *Annales Archéologiques*.[a] In this last example the cherubs appear four times, two above and two below, the bust of Our Lord in the centre. The only other ancient example

[a] *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxii. p. 39

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with which I am acquainted of the lozenge-shaped interior to the Aureola is, again, on the Charlemagne dalmatic (see Fig. 3).

It is singular that we should thus find both of those peculiarities of the dome also on the dalmatic, which is, of course, of the ninth century, and therefore coeval in date with the foundation of the church (as discovered by M. Lampakis).

The wings of the angels are also rather indicative of an early period, the freedom of their treatment and the peculiar touch with which they are painted being closely allied to that shown in late Roman work; they are neither so hard in execution nor so extremely conventional as most of the late Byzantine examples.

There is nothing else peculiar, that I have noticed, in this Majesty, and almost similar treatments are universal in all places and periods where Christian art has taken root. A very fine example of early date exists in a chapel in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral church; it is illustrated with its surrounding subjects and figures in Dart's *History and Antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury* [a] and in the *Archaeologia Cantiana.*[b] My impression is that the Canterbury paintings are of French workmanship or executed by artists educated in the Franco-Byzantine school; the reason I have for saying this is that all its parts are more defined and hard, and that, although it is a very fine and beautifully designed work of its character, it lacks the painter-like touch which is so evident in the Athenian work. Speaking of this painter-like touch reminds me that I have observed in all histories of art and accounts of paintings that its value is overlooked. We see elaborate illustrations of compositions and styles of drawings, but I was totally unprepared by any book that I had read, to find, when I saw the paintings themselves in ancient Roman, Greek, and Byzantine work, so great a perfection of touch and brush execution. I remember this particularly in some swans in the decoration of one of the subterranean chambers in the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. It is also most evident in examples at and from Pompeii. It survives in these Athenian works, to a certain extent, and the value of the drawings before us is enhanced by the circumstance that this manipulating touch has been copied; so that we are enabled to compare the execution of these walls with others of different periods and with manuscripts. I would beg of all art-historians and critics that they would not forget, in giving us designs by ancient artists, to remember also to give us a notion of their touch and handiwork; facsimile reproductions by mechanical means renders this comparatively easy, now-a-days.

[a] Page 35.

[b] Vol. xiii.

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Concerning the costumes in this series of paintings, I have one remark to make. It is the perfect resemblance between the conical helmet on the head of one of the adoring figures, in the clerestory portion of the work, and those in the two MSS. in the British Museum already referred to, one being dated 1066,[a] and the other of about 1131.[b]

The small ornamentation around the windows is evidently also very early.

I now come to the third drawing, representing a series of scenes from the Agony in the Garden (Plate X).

One of the other buildings of the so-called Stoa of Hadrian contains this remarkable instance of Byzantine mural painting. From some of the details it would appear to be as late as the fifteenth century, but it is of great intrinsic merit and shows a thoughtful study of the antique.

The actual structure to which these works belonged was probably the church of St. Michael (*Asomatos Taxiarches*), which is supposed to have been standing as late as 1840, although it is impossible to conjecture how a church can have been placed in this exact position, except upon the hypothesis that this was one of the very rare instances in which an Oriental church is turned to the north instead of the East.[c]

* * * * * * *

The subject of the painting over the door it is now impossible to tell, as only a very small part remains, representing several figures in long robes (Qu. Jewish Priests?), and two Roman soldiers in the background. It may have been a Crucifixion. The colour, without being glaring, is exceedingly bright. The picture is raised upon a broad band now grey, but once possibly black, upon which are a series of busts in circles, surrounded by foliage, and linked together by wreaths. This band, which is about twelve feet above the ground, and has surmounted some painted decoration (apparently a row of figures) now destroyed, is continued under the remaining picture. The colour is here indistinguishable from black, and the general effect is extremely suggestive of much of the Pompeian decoration. The circles are here united, not by wreaths, but by roses. The circles are alternately grey and russet, and each consists of three shades, lightening from the centre to the circumference. They bear half-length figures of martyrs, in varying attitudes, and are very well executed. Of the five remaining, only the names of the second and fourth—Akindynos and Elpidephoros—are entirely legible; the others read * * * mardarios, * * * iasios, and Aph * * *. The large picture above is divided by a perpendicular line into two portions, representing respectively two of the scenes in the Garden—the Agony and the Betrayal. The skill with which the effect of night is here given is very striking; its obscurity had to be avoided, and recourse has therefore been had to its other remarkable characteristic, that, namely, of depriving objects of their colour. In

[a] Additional MS. 19352. [b] F. 6 f. [c] *Scottish Review*, vi. 99.

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contrast to the bright, almost brilliant, colour of the day-scene, these pictures are almost entirely in shades of grey and dull red. The ground in both cases is a dull slate-colour, and in both cases there is a conventional landscape of rocks in brick-dust red.

The lower foreground of the first half is mainly occupied by the group of the Apostles sleeping, the attitudes varied and combined with great ingenuity, while a small amount of yellow and purple tint has been introduced into some of the draperies to prevent confusion. On the left, the grey figure of Christ advances to reproach them. Higher up, withdrawn from the group below, is the Christ again, still grey, kneeling in prayer, bowed down with sorrow. But it is in the treatment of the last scene of the Agony that the thoughtful power of the artist is most fully manifested. As the most sacred, it is the highest and the most retired, but at the same time, by a skilful change in colour, it most attracts the eye. At the top of the composition, farthest withdrawn behind and above the group in the foreground, the Christ kneels once more alone in prayer, pourtrayed in black and red; the figure upright, the face thrown upwards, the arms extended and half-raised; and an angel, appearing from the darkness on the right, in the colouring of black and red, which marks the group apart, holds the Cross before His eyes.

In the scene of the betrayal, on the spectator's right, the same dull red landscape is continued. In the right hand corner, but as an episode altogether inferior in importance to the principal, Peter is cutting off the ear of Malchus. The middle of the composition is filled with the armed multitude, in front of whom Judas is giving the kiss. In the treatment of the large mass of figures it has evidently been remembered that the individuals of a moving crowd leave a less distinct impression upon the eye, unless particularly followed, than those of a group in stillness; accordingly, each figure is drawn carefully, so that it can be followed when attention is given to it, but there is not the same variation in tints as in the group of the Apostles sleeping. The figures in the upper part of the other composition are counterbalanced by a half-length figure of David, who, as it were from the remoteness of prophecy, contemplates the event which the scroll in his hand predicts, and whose presence enforces on the spectator the remembrance of the supernatural importance of the scene. He is, as it were, peering over the mountains, and a certain amount of brighter red in the grey of his garments saves the equality of the compositions on both sides.[a]

This is the last and latest of these works which are submitted to you. It is in no way less interesting than the others, as it shows what strength and life there was in Byzantine art to a late date. The painting is as vigorous as either of the others, but not so fine in colour as that in Plates VIII. and IX., nor so dignified in drawing as that in the Parthenon. Much of the spirit of the work, is however of western influence; the tradition of composition remains undoubtedly eastern.[b]

[a] *Scottish Review*, vi. 100-102.

[b] The representations are, however, not entirely in accordance with the *recipe* given for their composition by the author of the Greek MS., which has been translated into French by M. Paul Durand (*Paris: Imprimerie Royale*, MDCCCXLV.) and edited by M. Didron. The original MS. is said by the Greeks to be of the tenth or eleventh century, but M. Didron thinks it is not earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century (p. xxxv.).

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PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH OF ASOMATOS TAXIARCHES AT ATHENS.

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In the various details of these paintings there are peculiarities of considerable interest, and some of them throw a certain light on the date of the work.

The first that I shall notice is the *quasi*-Roman costume of the soldiers, the details of the costume resembling those on the Trajan column; indeed there is one detail in both cases most remarkable. It is the helmet of the soldiers, on which there appears to be a sort of cross-piece of metal going from ear to ear and from forehead to poll; this in the painting before us is also introduced and painted red. Possibly the artist of this had seen the original or some drawing of the column.

The forms of the halberds and instruments in the same work would argue as late a date as the sixteenth century, although, in the MS. of A.D. 1131 (already noticed) there are halberds and spears. I have also made a sketch of the spears and helmets used in A.D. 1066 from the Psalter previously mentioned (Plate VII. Fig. I), and it will be at once observed that our artist has somewhat departed from ancient Byzantine tradition. Of course I am assuming that he was a Greek, but there may be a possibility of his having been of another nationality, only that the work bears no resemblance to French, German, or Italian work of later date.

The deep blue and ruddy colour of these pictures may have been intended to produce the effect of night, but it is also to be found in late Greek MSS. Whence its introduction I cannot say; it is not common in western Europe.

Under these pictures are some heads, in a beautifully designed circular ornamentation. It has been suggested that this is Renaissance or Italian. Examples of such work are scarce in Byzantine work, but I have found an ornament with somewhat the same form that is undoubtedly of Byzantine parentage, although not of Byzantine execution; it is on the roof of the north-east choir chapels in Winchester cathedral church.

It is, moreover, a curious coincidence that this ornament also accompanies busts surrounded by circular frames. This painting is probably of the thirteenth century, as it bears all the characteristics of such a date.

This ornamentation then, which certainly has a *quasi*-Renaissance appearance, was probably of common use in Byzantine decoration, but the scarcity of examples deprives us of an opportunity of comparing its various phases in various centuries. The two mentioned (at Athens and Winchester) become, therefore, additionally interesting.

My observations on these works are now exhausted, and I suppose the general judgment of those best acquainted with such art will place this last example at the conclusion of the fifteenth or the commencement of the sixteenth century.

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NOTE ON PLATE VII.

There appear to have been two forms of crowns concurrent between the fifth and the twelfth centuries: one, a ring of metal, plain or jewelled, with or without an internal cap or covering for the head; the other, formed like the crown of Charlemagne (Fig. K) of flat plates joined or hinged together. The latter form seems to have originated in Greece and to have become common in Byzantine art. It was in use from the ninth to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The following is a list of the crowns figured in Plate VII. showing the gradual change of form. It is curious that Melchisedech (Fig. *d*) at St. Savin in France wears a square crown of four sides (like a modern biretta), of the same character as that on the head of Our Lady at Le Mans (Fig. *e*):

A. Crown from figure of St. Agnes, in the basilica dedicated to her in Rome.
B. Crown of Agilulph, with figures of Our Lord and the Apostles. Seventh century.
C. Crown of kings of Italy.
D, E. Crowns from Christian paintings in the Parthenon at Athens (Plate VI.). ? Ninth century.
F, F 1. Crowns of Theodora and Justinian.
G, H, I, L. Crowns from Add. MS. 19352 (Brit. Mus.) A.D. 1066.
K, K 1, K 2. Crowns of Charlemagne and two chessmen of his period.
K 3. Crown of Solomon, from details of Charlemagne's crown.
K 4. Crown from a twelfth-century MS. (Willemin).
K 5. Crown of King Saul, from Harl. MS. 2803 (Brit. Mus.). Twelfth century.
K 7. Crown of Our Lady, from St. Elizabeth's, Marburg.
K 6, K 8, K 9. Crowns of emperors, from Strasburg cathedral church. Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.
M, N. Crowns of Nicephoros and Eudoxia. A.D. 1078.
O. Crown from the dalmatic of Charlemagne.
P. Crown from stained glass in the clerestory of York Minster. Twelfth century.
Q. Crown from the porch of S. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris. Twelfth century.
R, S. Crowns from the cathedral church of Chartres. Twelfth century.
T, U. Crowns from stained glass at St. Denis. Twelfth century.
V. Crown from St. Rémi, Rheims. Twelfth century.
W. Crown of Charles XI., from a Latin MS. (Willemin). ? Tenth century.
X. Crown from a throne belonging to the see of Canossa and Bari. ? Tenth century.
Y. Crown of David, from a Latin MS. (Willemin). ? Tenth century.
Z. Crown of Harold, from the Bayeux Tapestry. Eleventh century.
a. Crown of David, from Cott. MS. Tib. C 6 (Brit. Mus.). Tenth century.
b. *c*, *d*. Crowns from St. Savin, France. Eleventh and twelfth centuries.
e. Crown from figure of Our Lady, in stained glass at Le Mans. Eleventh century.
f. Cap of vair, made like a crown. Arundel MS. 83 (Brit. Mus.). Fourteenth century.
g. Crown of St. Louis, from the Sainte Chapelle, Paris. Thirteenth century.
h, *i*. Crowns from the cathedral church of Chartres. Thirteenth century.
k. Crown of Charles VIII.—Germany. A.D. 1002.

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X.—*An Account of the Harmonies contrived by Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding.*[a]

By Captain J. E. Acland-Troyte, *M.A.*

Read January 26, 1888.

Nicholas Ferrar, the designer of the works now under consideration, was born in the year 1592, in London, being the third son of Nicholas Ferrar, a merchant adventurer, who traded extensively both to the East and West Indies, and was on terms of great friendship with persons of eminence in the city. His mother was the daughter of Mr. Wodenoth, one of the ancient family of that name, of Savington Hall, in Cheshire. Both Mr. and Mrs. Ferrar were well known for their hospitality and generosity, and for their zealous support of the Church, as well as for the careful and religious ordering of their household.

Young Nicholas Ferrar was from his earliest years remarkable for his quickness in learning, great industry, and for his grave and simple disposition. At school he made such rapid progress, that at the age of fourteen he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and took his degree from Clare Hall four years later.

His health, at all times bad, appears now to have broken down completely, and, being recommended to travel, he started for the continent, in the suite of the Princess Elizabeth, sister of King Charles I., and thus early in life came to the notice of the royal family.

He did not remain long however in this distinguished company; for, leaving them at Amsterdam, he then proceeded alone to Leipzig, Prague, and many cities of Germany, and afterwards to Italy, South France, and Spain. He spent altogether about five years on the continent, during which time he perfected

[a] Authorities referred to: *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century. Life of N. Ferrar by his brother, &c.* 1855). Edited by J. Mayor; and *Life of N. Ferrar* (1790), by Dr. Peckard.

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himself in many foreign languages, the result of which was shown in after years by the teaching he gave to his nephew, which enabled him to prepare the harmonies referred to later on in this paper.

It was during these travels that Nicholas Ferrar may have collected the engravings which were used so freely and so cleverly at Little Gidding; it is stated that they were by the best masters of that time, and that he let nothing valuable of this sort escape him.

After his return to England he was employed as king's counsel for the Virginia Company, and in 1622 was advanced to the position of deputy-governor, winning great reputation by the manner in which he conducted the important and difficult business connected with the Plantation. In 1624 the Company was dissolved by the king, and Nicholas Ferrar was elected a member of parliament, but he very soon found an opportunity for retiring altogether from public life, and was able to carry into execution a plan long thought of, viz., to retire from the world, and lead a life of religious seclusion.

For this purpose he bought the lordship of Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, was ordained deacon by Dr. Laud, then bishop of St. David's, and in the year 1626, his father having died some years before, settled down to his new life, having with him his mother, his brother John, his sister, Mrs. Collet, and a large party of nephews and nieces; those with whom we are most concerned being Nicholas, John Ferrar's eldest son, and the seven Miss Collets.

From this brief account it will be seen that Nicholas Ferrar was a man of no ordinary talent, and that prior to his settling at Little Gidding he had seen more of the world, and taken a more active part in business and political affairs, than would be imagined by those who only study the later years of his life.

Although religious exercises formed an important part of the daily routine at Gidding, many useful accomplishments were practised there. Three masters were constantly resident in the house, to teach English, Latin, arithmetic, good writing, in all its branches, theory and practice of music, etc., and, to come at last to the subject of this paper, "an ingenious book-binder was entertained to instruct the whole family in the art of binding, gilding, lettering, and pasting-printing, by the use of the rolling-press."

This will be a good opportunity to describe the mechanical means employed in producing "a harmony."

It was first of all necessary to get two copies of the same edition of the book on which they were engaged; and if, as in most cases, different types were employed, two copies of each type.

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Mr. Ferrar then directed his nieces, the Miss Collets, to cut out roughly the particular verses required to perfect a certain subject or "chapter," and these were placed on a large table in the order in which they would make a consecutive historical narration. This being arranged satisfactorily, "each passage was fitted to the next belonging to it, with nice knives and scissors, and afterwards pasted on to the best and strongest white paper, so evenly and smoothly, by the help of the rolling-press, that many curious persons who saw the work when finished were deceived, and thought that it had been printed in the ordinary way."

In many pages where the subject treated of is short, each *line* of the printed copy was cut out separately and pasted in again with the utmost regularity at the required interval to fill the page.

The illustrations were treated in the same manner, and some of the "splices" rendered necessary to bring the engravings into harmony with the subject-matter were most ingeniously contrived—in some instances it is by no means easy to trace where one picture is fitted into the other.

Round every page, and every column of the letter-press, lines were ruled, generally in red, which gives a neat and finished appearance to the whole. As the work of amateurs, the binding of the volumes is perhaps the most wonderful part of the business. Both master and pupils must have been devoted to their art, to have attained to such perfection.

All the volumes I have seen have evidently been fitted with ribbons, or "stately strings" as the king called them, with which to fasten the covers together, but in all cases the ribbons have been torn off.

As regards the engravings, I am informed that they are not of much value, being what may be termed second or third rate. They are, however, very quaint and interesting, and the manner in which the subjects are treated is well worthy of careful study. In my own volume I find several of the prints with names, dates, and monograms, and I have noticed the same names in other harmonies also. The principal are—

M. Heem, invent. 1564.	Phl. Galle.
M. de Vos, inuentor.	Jul. Goltzius, sculp.
Joannes Strada, inuen.	Joan Baptista Vrints, excud.
Th. Galle, excud.	Crispin Van de Passe.

I will now proceed to give an account of all the harmonies or concordances which I have been able to trace, taking them in the order in which we may conclude that they were made; and in an Appendix will be found a more detailed

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description of them than could be introduced into the body of this paper, together with the title-pages in full, which are worth comparing with one another.

The first harmony made by Nicholas Ferrar and the handy maidens of Little Gidding, which unfortunately cannot now be traced, that of the Four Gospels, was designed merely as an aid to religious instruction. A portion of it (one of the 150 heads or chapters) was said "without book" in the oratory at the times of prayer; it being so ordered that the whole harmony was repeated once in every month.

The design of this work was quite original. The four Gospels were so arranged by the use of four distinguishing letters (A, B, C, D) and two kinds of type that they could be read either separately or in one continuous history. By keeping to one type, and omitting the other, all the actions and doctrines of Our Lord, by whomsoever related, could be read in one complete narrative; and by reading only those passages marked by the same initial letter, independent of the type used, any gospel could be taken in its entirety. The chapters were arranged according to subjects, chronologically, thus—

56. Miracle of the five loaves.
57. Jesus walks on the sea.
58. Discourse of the bread from Heaven.

Nicholas Ferrar having been so well known in political and court circles, the report of this fresh proof of his ability soon reached King Charles, who was certain to be interested in a religious work of this description. He accordingly lost no time in obtaining a loan of the concordance, which he kept for several months, as we may imagine, perhaps, much to the annoyance of the pious folk of Gidding, who were thus deprived of their precious book. When it was returned, it was accompanied by a request that a copy might be made for the king, which was promptly put in hand, completed in about twelve months, and duly presented in the year 1635. This specimen (now in the British Museum) is probably much more elaborate than the Ferrars' private copy; and if this is the book referred to in John Ferrar's letter to Dr. Basire, as the "King's Concordance," it "stood them in above 100*l.*"

The king, at any rate, was so pleased with this "inestimable jewel," that he at once set them to work at another concordance for him, viz. Kings and Chronicles, which Charles said he had often moved his chaplains to undertake, but as they did not do it, he supposed it was attended with too much difficulty for them!

Nicholas Ferrar, however, soon solved the problem, and in rather more than

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a year this book was finished and sent to the king. It is now in the British Museum, dated 1637; and, although it is not illustrated like the former work, it must have been the result of much careful study. The tables at the commencement are excellently arranged, evidently to carry out the king's wishes as fully as possible, viz. that he might read the history in one continued narration, and also know what belonged to one book and what to both.

It is probably owing to this royal patronage that these concordances became so famous.

Although Nicholas Ferrar settled at Gidding in the year 1626, it does not appear that his system of education was fully organised till about 1630; and in this or the following year the first concordance was composed; but, as it can not now be found, the earliest specimens we know with dates on the title-page are the royal copy in the British Museum and my own copy, both harmonies of the four evangelists and both dated 1635.

The history of my volume, though partly conjectural, is interesting. It is probable that it belonged originally to Sir R. Cotton, of Connington, whose property was near Gidding, and that afterwards it passed into the hands of the Bowdler family, one of whom married a daughter of the last Cotton baronet. The grandson of this Mr. Bowdler gave the book to my father, because he found the daughters of the family being encouraged in the same works which Mr. Ferrar taught his nieces.

The next specimen, in order of date, is the royal copy of Kings and Chronicles, already mentioned, which is now in the British Museum, dated 1637, but which Peckard states was finished the previous year.

Nicholas Ferrar died December 1637, and all the harmonies about which I have yet to speak were completed after his death, though it is very likely that he designed them. For the work he had organized was carried on for about ten years by his able lieutenants, and was indeed considerably extended by John Ferrar the brother and Nicholas Ferrar the nephew—only seventeen years old at his uncle's death, but a young man of extraordinary ability, and warmly supported by King Charles. We must therefore credit them with the works which have still to be mentioned, though probably the manual or mechanical part of all the harmonies was done by the Miss Collets.

There are four specimens, all dated 1640, but it is likely that the date refers to the year of completion, and that they were really in course of construction during the previous years, for it seems improbable that three years should be entirely unemployed, and that then, in one year, four works should be produced.

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Of these four, the most interesting, historically, is that of the four Gospels, the property of Miss Heming, of Hillingdon, who is a descendant of the Mapletofts, and through them of Nicholas Ferrar's family—a Mr. Mapletoft having married one of Nicholas Ferrar's nieces. Peckard gives what appears to be an authentic account of this book being presented by Nicholas Ferrar to his niece, Susanna Mapletoft, in the year 1631, and quotes a memorandum supposed to be written in the book by Nicholas Ferrar himself. But having carefully examined it (June 1886), I can find no trace of the memorandum, nor is anything known of it by the present owner. The date is distinctly 1640, and the title-page is almost exactly the same as that in Lord Arthur Hervey's volume, which is also dated 1640. I feel bound therefore to express an opinion that Peckard's account is incorrect, though Miss Heming's book is doubtless the one he refers to, as it was left to her by her great uncle, Dr. Mapletoft.

The Harmony of the Four Gospels, the property of Lord Arthur Hervey, just mentioned as dated 1640, has a special point of interest attaching to it, as it is stated on the title-page, to be "done by Virginia Ferrar, aged 12"—the only case I know of the Ferrars mentioning themselves by name in the harmonies. The book has been in the Hervey family from the first. This is proved by the different names written in it, the first owner being one Thomas Hervey, who married a daughter of Sir H. May, vice-chamberlain to Charles I., which circumstance would probably be enough to account for the making of the book.

Another of the 1640 harmonies is now in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. It is entitled, "The whole Law of God as delivered in the five Books of Moses," and is of the same description as the great volume made for Prince Charles, though smaller. It was given to Archbishop Laud, and was sent by him to Oxford. It is bound in velvet, and like most of the others is illustrated throughout.

The fourth work, dated 1640, is that known as "Monotessaron," or, the Four Gospels in four languages, viz., English, Latin, French, and Italian, which are placed in parallel columns. It is now the property of Lord Normanton, but was made expressly for Prince Charles by Nicholas Ferrar, junior, and was presented to him at Richmond, on Good Friday, 1640. It is larger than the Harmony of the Gospels at the British Museum, and is bound in green velvet, stamped in gold. Lord Normanton does not know how long it has been in his library at Somerley, but a curious incident in its history is, that the last line of the title-page, "done at Little Gidding," was covered by having a piece of paper pasted

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over it, and this was only discovered by Lord Normanton when kindly making a tracing of the title-page for me.

There are three specimens of the Gidding handicraft without date—

1. The Acts of the Apostles, now at the British Museum, sent there by George II. from Windsor with the other royal volumes. We may therefore conclude it was made for the king, though I do not find any record of it either by John Ferrar or Peckard.

2. The Four Gospels, very carefully finished, bound in purple velvet, now the property of the Marquess of Salisbury. It is at Hatfield, and has evidently belonged to the family for a long time, as a book-plate appears on the inside of the cover with the arms and name, "Rt: Hon: James Cecill. 1704." I cannot help thinking however that it may have been made originally for the Duke of York—it has all the appearance of a royal copy—the pattern of the gilt stamping on the velvet cover being designed in acorns and fleurs-de-lis, and it is stated in the old MSS. that a harmony was completed for Prince James, but was kept at Gidding "till it could be presented to him."

3. The last volume to be described, exceeds all the others in magnificence, and a vast amount of time and trouble must have been expended in its production. It is entitled "The 5 Books of Moses, distributed into 3 great classes, moral, ceremonial, and political," etc., besides which there is a great deal of other matter, as mentioned in the Appendix.

The present owner of this book is Captain Gaussen, who lives at Brookmans, near Hatfield, but its history is very obscure. It was found early in the present century, walled up in a secret cupboard at Brookmans, and the earliest record in the book is the following notice, which proves that a hundred years ago its history had been lost. "Dolendum neque authoris nomen, neque quo mirabile opus confectum est anno declarari." "Hoec ego scribebam paucis post librum coemptum mensibus."

"Jacobus Bourdillon, V.D.M. 1776."

He bought it from the Harleian library.

Captain Gaussen does not know what connection there was between his family and this Mr. Bourdillon, but it may be conjectured that as the Gaussens are descended from a refugee family they became connected with the pastors of the French church in London.

But there is little or no doubt that it was made for Prince Charles, and although nearly finished in 1642, was never actually given to him.

The King and Prince Charles were both at Gidding that year, and inspected

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the volume, which one of the nobles described as the "gallantest, greatest book in the world," and added "sire, one of your strongest guard will but be able to carry it."

John Ferrar concludes this account by saying, "the book hath ever since been preserved at Gidding, and attends the happy hour to be delivered into the right owner's hand."

Besides these ten works which I have been able to trace at the present time, I must mention here some others which we read of in Peckard's history and in the life of Nicholas Ferrar by his brother:—

1. The four Gospels, dated 1630. This is the original harmony made for the private use of the family at Gidding.

2. The Gospels in eight different languages.

3. The Gospels in twenty-four languages.

4. The Gospel of St. John in twenty-one languages, *i.e.* each chapter in a different language translated word for word into Latin or English.

These last three works were written in MS. only, by Nicholas Ferrar, junior, and were presented to Charles I. at Easter 1640, at the same time that the "Monotessaron" was given to the prince. He was only twenty-one years old when he had completed them, so that, as Charles quaintly remarked, he actually knew more languages than he was years old. Few of us can ever hope to attain to such knowledge!

The list of twenty-four languages, which I quote from John Ferrar's narrative, is interesting:—

1. Hebrew.
2. Greek.
3. Syriac.
4. Arabic.
5. Aethiopian.
6. Latin.
7. Anglo-Saxon.
8. Muscovian.
9. Welsh.
10. Belgian.
11. Swedish.
12. Irish.
13. German.
14. Polish.
15. Danish.
16. Bohemian.
17. Hungarian.
18. English.
19. French.
20. Italian.
21. Spanish.
22. Cantabrian.*
23. Portuguese.
24. Sclavonian.

* John Ferrar says, "the language spoken in Navarre."

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I wish also to call attention to the fact that there is distinct record of harmonies being made for, and given to, Mr. George Herbert and Dr. Jackson, by Nicholas Ferrar the elder, both of them being his special friends. A book was also made "of an inferior kind" for Lord Wharton, for which he "willingly gave 37*l.* but it was deemed by all that saw it to be of more worth." This throws an interesting light on the value of these volumes 250 years ago.

There may have been other harmonies completed also, for we read that John Ferrar was anxious to obtain orders for them. He says in a letter, that perhaps if "noble and learned personages knew of them, they might be willing to cast away their money upon them, as well as on other things." He calls them "rarities in their kind, the handy work of women for their manufacture by way of pasting."

But all their work came to an untimely end. The strictness of the life at Gidding gave rise both to curiosity and censure; violent abuse was showered on their heads, and in the year 1647 or 1648 the soldiers of the Parliament party plundered the house and church, and many valuable works were ruthlessly destroyed, the family having saved themselves by flight.

In comparing the different volumes, the great similarity in the method of the compilation, in the workmanship, and in the wording of the title-pages, is most observable. Pictures even may be seen exactly the same in different books, though not always illustrating the same subject; and in cases where the illustrations are patch-work, figures may be traced, which have been cut out of pictures that appear in their entirety in some other harmony. It is therefore evident that several copies of the same engraving were procured by Nicholas Ferrar.

But, notwithstanding this similarity, it is very evident that much more time was spent on some volumes than on others. The binding shows this in a marked manner, and it may be easily accounted for, I think, by the rank and position of the person for whom the volume was made.

Although it is an unpleasant task, I feel that I must brace myself to the duty of drawing attention to a mistake which even the accomplished Miss Collets made, and it is a very curious mistake too. In my harmony there is an index of chapters, numbered 1 to 150. It is also stated, more than once, in Nicholas Ferrar's life, that he arranged the Harmony of the Gospels under 150 heads. But in the body of the work there are 151 chapters, and one of these, No. 29, being left out of the index, of course throws out all the subsequent headings. What makes it still more curious is, that the very same mistake occurs in Miss

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Heming's copy; but in Lord Salisbury's, the error apparently having been detected, the matter is put right.

It is with some misgivings that I conclude this paper, for I fear that it cannot prove as interesting to those that read it as it has been to me in its preparation; indeed, I am well aware that the mere fact of being a possessor of one of the harmonies puts the whole subject at once on a different footing.

On my own account, then, I beg to offer my best thanks to all those who have so kindly assisted me in my inquiries, especially to Mr. Fletcher of the British Museum, and now also to the President and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries for their great kindness in allowing this paper to be read; and I cannot help hoping that it may be the means of bringing to light the volumes which were certainly completed at Gidding, but which are now missing. If any descendants of the great George Herbert, of Lord Wharton, or of Dr. Jackson, should be able to give me any information as to the harmonies made for their ancestors, I trust they will do so, as it would be of the greatest interest to know the history of the lost sheep of the Gidding flock.

The works are so interesting that they ought not to be left in obscurity, and being the fortunate owner of one myself, I feel I may safely conclude with the words of one of their greatest admirers—King Charles I., when he accepted the Harmony of the Holy Gospels.—"Truly, I prize this as a rich and rare jewel, the substance of it is of the best alloy in the world, and ought to be the only desirable book. And for the skill, care, and cost used in it, there is no defect, but a superlative diligence in all about it. I very much thank them all. God's blessing on their hearts, and painful hands."

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APPENDIX

To the Account of the Harmonies, compiled by NICHOLAS FERRAR; *giving full details and description of the works still extant.* 1887.

No. 1. British Museum.

The Four Gospels. Bound in leather, richly gilt. Illustrated throughout. Dated 1635. Size 1ft. 7″ × 1ft. 2″. Pages 287, numbered by columns up to 574.

Fletcher, pl. xlviii fig.

"The order of the concordance agrees with Jansenius." The whole is divided into 150 heads or chapters.

This book was made for King Charles I., at His Majesty's earnest request. It was sent to the British Museum from Windsor by George II.

The title-page reads: "The Actions, Doctrines, and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the four Evangelists, reduced into one complete body of historie; where in that which is severally related by them is digested into order; and that which is jointly related by all, or any two or more of them, is first expressed in their own words by way of comparison, and 2ndly brought into one narration by way of composition, and 3rdly, extracted into one clear context by way of collection; yet so as whatsoever is omitted in the context is inserted by way of supplement in another print in such manner as all the four Evangelists may be read severally from first to last: to which are added sundry pictures expressing either the facts themselves, or their types and figures, or other matters appertaining thereunto. Anº MDCXXXV."

The above written after personal examination of book, 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 2. Capt. Acland-Troyte, son of the late A. H. D. Troyte, of Huntsham Court, Bampton, Devon.

The Four Gospels. Bound in leather. Illustrated throughout. Size 1ft. 5″ × 11″. Pages 138, which are numbered by columns up to 276. Dated 1635.

Probably belonged originally to Sir R. Cotton, of Connington, the founder of the Cottonian library; afterwards it belonged to the Bowdlers, one of whom married a daughter of the last baronet of the Cotton family. The grandson of this Mr. Bowdler gave the book to Mr. Acland, who took the name of Troyte, of Huntsham, Devon.

The title-page reads: "The Actions, Doctrine and other passages, touching our Lord and Saviour IHS XPS as they are related by yᵉ Foure Evangelists. Reduced into one Compleat body of History, where in that wʰ is severally related by them is digested into order, & that wʰ is joyntly related by all or any of them is extracted into one cleare context by way of collection. Yet soe as whatsoever is omitted in the Context is inserted by way of Supplement, in an other print, in such manner as all yᵉ Foure Evangelists may be read severally from first

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to last. To w^h^ are added sundry Pictures expressing either the facts themselves or their Types & Figures, or other Matters appertaining thereunto.

"Done at Little Gidding, Año. M.D.CXXXV."

The concordance is divided into 151 heads. The Table of Contents shows 150 heads; but No. 29, "The leper healed," is omitted in the table, which makes all the numbers following wrong. The "table" is printed, and pasted in.

No. 3. British Museum.

The books of Kings and Chronicles. Bound in leather, richly and curiously gilt. Size 1ft. 4¾" × 11". Pages 203, numbered to 406, the numbers referring to the columns—two to a page. Dated 1637. There are no illustrations.

Bibliographica, II, 148

This book was made expressly for King Charles I., and at his own suggestion; it shows signs of very great care and skill in the general arrangement,—the handwriting being far better than in the previous works, and the tables, etc. excellently composed.

It was sent to the British Museum from Windsor by George II.

The title-page reads: "I. H. S. The History of the Israelites, from the death of Saul to their carrying away captive into Babylon: collected out of the books of Kings and Chronicles in the words of the text themselves without any alteration of importance by addition to them or diminution from them, Whereby,

"i. All the actions and passages related in either of these books of Kings or Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration.

"ii. They are digested into an orderly dependance and *seqvite* one upon another.

"iii. Many difficult places are cleared, and many seeming differences between the sayd books of Kings and Chronicles compounded.

"And all this is so contrived as notwithstanding the mutual compositions of these books of Kings and Chronicles into this historical collection, yet the frame of each of them is preserved entire, in such manner as they may be easily read, severally from first to last according to directions set down hereafter. Together with three several tables. The first summarily declaring the several heads or chapters into which the historical collection is divided. The 2nd specifying what passages are related severally by the afore said books of Kings and Chronicles, and what was jointly related by them both: as also in what heads of this collection they are to be found. The 3rd showing where every chapter of the texts themselves and every part of them may be readily found in this historical collection. "Anno Domini M.D.CXXXVII."

The three tables fill about ten pages, the writing being very small and neat. The first table consists of 203 heads or chapters. The second table is arranged in three parallel columns, the left-hand column giving the passages related in Kings only, the right-hand column showing passages related in Chronicles only; while the centre column gives the passages related jointly by Kings and Chronicles. In every case the full reference to chapter and verse in Bible is given, as well as the place in the concordance.

The above written after personal examination of book. 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

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No. 4. Miss Heming, Hillingdon Hill, Uxbridge.

The Four Gospels. Bound in light brown leather, gilt round the edge. Dated 1640. Illustrated throughout; the engravings being almost all of the small size and much spliced. Pages 65, numbered in the ordinary way. Size 1 ft. 6″ × 1 ft. 1″. The letter-press is all in the same type, viz. "Old English," there being no "supplement," as in some of the books. The words are arranged in three columns. The index (150 heads) does not agree with the body of the work; exactly the same mistake being made as in the vol. No. 2 in this Appendix.

On the page after the title is written the following: "This book was the work of 2 ladies, nieces of Mr. Ferrar, of L. Gidding, who, according to Ward's account in his life of the Gresham Professors, devoted themselves to a single life, and by the said Mr. Ferrar's direction, digested this history of our Blessed Saviour, contained in the 4 Evangelists, into one regular Harmony, &c. They made 3 such copies, one of which was presented to King Charles I. upon his going into the North, another to King Charles II. at the restoration, and *this* 3*rd* is still preserved in the family."

"N.B. The said Mr. Ferrar was great uncle to Dr. John Mapletoft, sometime Physick Professor of Gresham Coll: and afterwards vicar of S. Lawrence Jewry, London, which Dr. Mapletoft was great uncle to the present possessor of this book.

"J. MAPLETOFT, M.A.
"Chaplain to the R^t Hon. John Lord S. John of Bletsoe,
July 15, 1764."

On the first blank page occurs: "I H S. Servire Deo sapere. S. M."

Title-page: "The Actions, Doctrine, and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists reduced into one compleat body of History, where in that w^h is severally related by all of them is digested into order. To which are added sundry pictures expressing either the facts themselves or their types and figures, with other matter appertaining there unto.

"Done at Little Gidding
"Anno Domini MDCXL."

The above written after personal examination of the book. June, 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 5. Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The Four Gospels. Bound in leather. Illustrated throughout. 66 pages. Dated 1640.

This book has apparently been always in the Hervey family, as shown by the different names written in it, or by the owner's book-plates. The first owner was Thomas Hervey, who married Isabella, daughter of Sir H. May, vice-chamberlain to Charles I. He died 1694.

The present owner was given it by his father.

The title-page reads: "The Actions, doctrine, and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists: reduced into one compleat body of History, where in that which is severally related by all of them is digested into order.

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To which are added sundry pictures expressing either the facts themselves, or their types and figures, with other matters appertaining there unto.

"Thankes bee given to God.

"Done at Little Gidding, Anno domini 1640, by Virginia Ferrar, an. 12."

N.B. "Virginia Ferrar" was daughter of John Ferrar, and sister of Nicholas Ferrar, Junr.

The above account, supplied by the Rev. S. H. Hervey, son of the Bishop, writing from the Palace, Wells, March, 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 6. St. John's College, Oxford.

The five Books of Moses. A square folio of 128 pages, bound in purple velvet, gilt. Illustrated throughout. Dated 1640.

The history of this copy is not known by the Librarian (but see below).

The title-page reads thus: "The whole law of God, as it is delivered in the five bookes of Moyses, Methodically distributed into three great classes, Morall, Ceremoniall, and Polyticall, and again each of these subdivided into severall heads, as the variety of the matter requires, wherein each particular subject, dispersedly related in the foresayd bookes, is reduced to its proper heads, and place. Also every head of the Polyticall law referred to w^{h} Precept of the Morall Law it properly belongs. To which are added sundry pictures, expressing either the facts themselves, or their types and figures, or other matters appertaining there unto.

"Done at Little Gidding. An^{o} 1640."

The above information sent by the librarian, writing from Oxford, March, 1866.—J. E. A.-T.

N.B. Dr. Peckard, in his preface to the *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, quotes from Gough's *Topographia Britannica* thus: "One of the Harmonies presented to Arch Bp. Laud, was by him deposited in S. John's College Library, Oxford, entituled, 'the whole law of God,' etc. etc. as above. An^{o} 1640. Also in the *Life of N. Ferrar, by his Brother*, p. 149, there is the following note: "In his lifetime he gave one to the bishop of Canterbury containing only that first part of the '*whole law of God.*' This the Bishop sent to the university library of Oxford," etc.

No. 7. The Earl of Normanton, Somerley, Ringwood.

The Four Gospels, in four languages. "Monotessaron." Bound in green velvet, stamped gold. The pattern in fleurs-de-lis and sprigs of oak. Illustrated. Size 2 ft. 1″ × 1 ft. 5¼″. Pages 234. Dated 1640.

This book is no doubt the harmony made as Peckard says, "by desire of the King, expressly for and accordingly presented to Prince Charles, and appears to be the original harmony drawn up in three additional languages—Latin, French, and Italian."

It was the work of the younger Nicholas Ferrar, two years after his uncle's death.

Lord Normanton does not know how this book came into the Somerley library.

Title-page: "'MONOTEΣΣAPON' or The Actions, Doctrine and other Passages touching Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the foure Evangelists, Harmonically, Symetrically, and Collaterally Placed in Foure Languages reduced into one compleat Body of History, wherein that w^{h} is severally related by them is digested into order, and y^{t} w^{ch} is joyntly

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related by all or any of them is first Extracted into one Narration by Way of collection and secondly brought into a cleare context by way of composition.

"To which are added sundry pictures expressing either y^e^ facts themselves, or their Types and Figures or other Matters appertaining thereunto."

"*) Done at Little Gidding. An^o^ 1640. (*"

* [N.B. A piece of paper has been pasted over this last line.] *

The details as above supplied by Lord Normanton writing from Somerley, 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 8. The Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

The Four Gospels. Bound in purple velvet, stamped gold. The pattern in acorns, sprigs of oak, and fleurs de lis. Illustrated throughout. Size 1 ft. 8″ × 1 ft. 2″.

Pages 189, which are numbered two to a page up to 378.

There is no date given, but the general arrangements, headings of chapters, &c., are very similar to No. 2 in this Appendix, the title-page being almost word for word the same. There was, however, evidently much more care bestowed on this work, as it is more elaborate in design and "finish," and a mistake which occurs in the table of contents of the above-mentioned copy is not repeated here.

The earliest record of the history of this book is obtained from a book-plate pasted in, showing the arms and name, "R^t^ Hon^e^ James Cecill, 1704."

Title-page: "The actions, doctrine and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the four Evangelists reduced into one compleat body of History, where in that which is severally related by them is digested into order and that w^h^ is joyntly related by all or any of them is extracted into one clear context by way of collection, yet soe as whatsoever is omitted in the context is inserted by way of supplement in an other print, in such manner as all foure Evangelists may be reade severally from First to Last. To which are added sundry pictures expressing either the facts, or their Tipes and Figures or other matters appertaining there unto."

The above written after personal examination of the book at Hatfield, April, 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 9. British Museum.

The Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of S. John. Bound in leather, gilt. Illustrated throughout. Size 1 ft. 6½″ × 1 ft. 2¼″. No date. Pages 41, not numbered.

Sent to British Museum from Windsor by George II.

The title-page is fully and curiously decorated with pictures and designs; the only words are:

"Acta Apostolorum, elegantis
monochromatis delineata."

The above written after personal examination of book. 1886.—J. E. A.-T.

No. 10. Captain Gaussen, Brookman's Park, Hatfield.

The Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses. A splendid volume. Pages 441, of very thick paper. Size 2 ft. 4½″ × 1 ft. 8″. Bound in purple velvet, stamped gold in patterns of small crowns.

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Profusely illustrated and elaborately designed. No date given, but it is evidently the book made for Prince Charles, and finished about 1642. The history of this volume is somewhat obscure; but in 1776 it belonged to Jacobus Bourdillon, who probably was the pastor of the French Protestant church in Bishopsgate, and who bought it from the Harleian library. He did not, however, know much about it at the time he got it, as appears from the following notice, written on a blank page: "Dolendum neque authoris nomen, neque quo mirabile opus confectum est anno declarari." "Hoec ego scribebam paucis post librum coemptum mensibus."

"Jacobus Bourdillon, V.D.M. (Verbum Dei Minister). 1776."

The book was found at the beginning of the present century, walled up at Brookman's Park, but the family had no authentic record of how it got there.

Besides the "5 Books of Moses" there are the corresponding passages of the New Testament, showing the fulfilment of the Old Testament types; also long extracts from a work headed "Moses unveiled," which dilates on the "Congruitie" and "Disparitie" of the Old and New Testaments.

In addition to all this, one portion of the book is occupied by a "Discourse of Estate of Jews," by Dr. Th. Jackson; and another part deals with a variety of subjects, such as "Ten holy men, types of our Lord." "The 12 stones of Aaron's pectoral." "The destruction of Jerusalem and the miseries of the Jews under many nations," &c.

The title-page is of considerable length, and is given with tolerable accuracy in the *Life of N. Ferrar*, by his brother, page 148. It begins thus: "The whole Law of God, as it is delivered in the 5 books of Moses, methodically distributed into three great classes, moral, ceremonial, political," &c. &c.

The above written after personal examination of the book at Brookman's Park, February, 1886.—J. E. Acland-Troyte.

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XI.—*Bibliography of "Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen, etc."* By W. J. C. Moens, *F.S.A.*

Read January 26, 1888.

The troubles in the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century, occasioned by the progress of the reformation of religion, caused a large emigration to this country of Protestants, who settled, by special permission of the crown, in London, Norwich, and other places. Among these was a printer named Anthony de Solen, Solempne, de la Solemme or Solemne, who came to England in 1567 from Brabant, with his wife and two sons.[a]

In the corporation records appears the entry of his freedom in the city of Norwich on 11th December, 1570, he engaging to exercise only the art of printing, and selling Rhenish wine, for which privilege he paid the sum of forty shillings.[b]

The books printed by Antonius de Solemne[c] at Norwich are rare, and much valued by collectors; among these, not mentioned by Cotton, is a very important one for the history of the Netherlands, entitled "Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen, Troublen eñ oproeren oorspronch anuanck eñ eynde, Item den standt der Religien, tot desen Jare 1580. Beschreuen durch den hoochgeleerden Heren Adam Henricipetri, Docteur by den Rechten tot Basel, also hy scriftelick van een Raetshere te Bruessel ontfanghen heft, allen Liefhebberen Christelicker

[a] In the return of strangers at Norwich, made by the bishop of that diocese in 1568, in compliance with the order of the archbishop, is found "Anthonius de la Solemme, tipographus cum uxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567." Norfolk Antiq. Misc.: vol. iii. pt. 1.

[b] "Anthonius de Solen, prynter non appren(ticius) admiss's est ciuis et ciuis sub condic'one that he shall not occupye eny trade of marchandise eyther from the parts beyonde the seaes or from London but only his arte of prynting and selling of Renysh wyne and for this he have agreid to paye xl s."

[c] He so spelt his name in "de CL Psalmen David, etc. Norwitz, 1568."

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Religien seer profijtelick ende ten dienste wtghegeuen." "Vvt den Hooch-duytschen in onse Nederlantsche sprake getrouwelick ouergesedt," etc. "Gedruct tot Noortwitz na de copie van Basel. Anno 1579."

This chronicle, which gives daily details of many of the more notable events of the time, from the Protestant point of view, must have been considered of very great interest and importance, as no less than five editions were issued by the year 1584. I propose in this paper to show that the particulars concerning the authorship, etc. of the book, detailed in this title page, are mis-statements purposely and most carefully made in order to destroy the identification of the author, who, for reasons connected with the political troubles of the time, evidently wished, together with the translator and printer, to avoid identification.

These disguised particulars include—

1. The name of the author;
2. The language in which the history was first written;
3. The place where it was written;
4. The name of the translator into Dutch.

Added to these is the extraordinary piracy of the work itself in the fourth and fifth editions, in which statements against the government of the Netherlands, and those tending to throw discredit on the Roman Catholic Church, are either omitted or altered. This fact tends much to show the importance in which the work was held, and accounts for the rarity of the three earlier editions, which were probably suppressed and destroyed at every opportunity.

The editions alluded to are as follows:

1. The one in Dutch, printed at Norwich in 1579, has been already mentioned, but it may be pointed out that Norwich is not spelt Norwitz, as in some other and earlier works of Solen, but Noortwitz, which might be and has been taken for Noortwyck in Holland.
2. "Histoire des Trovbles et Gverres dv Pays-Bas, autrement dict la Flandre. Contenant l'origine & progres d'icelle, les stratagemes de guerre, oppugnations & expugnations des villes & forteresses, aussi la barbare Tyrannie & cruauté de l'Espaignol, & des Espaignolisez. Ensemble l'Estat & faict de la Religion, especialement depuis l'an 1559. jusques à l'an 1581, etc. Le tout departy en quattre Liures. 1582. (Sans lieu ou privilége.)"
3. "A Tragicall Historie of the Troubles & ciuil warres of the lowe Countries, otherwise called Flanders. Wherein is sett forthe the originall and full proceedyng of the saied troubles and ciuille warres,

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with all the stratagems, sieges, forceble takynges and manlike defences, of diuers and sondrie Cities, Tounes and Fortresses of the same, together, the Barbarous crueltie and tyrannie of the Spaniard, and trecherous Hispaniolized Wallons, & other of the saied lowe Countries, and there withal, the estate and cause of Religion especially, from the yere 1559 vnto the yere 1581, etc. Translated out of French into Englishe by T(homas) S(tocker) Gẽt. Imprinted at London by Jhon Kyngston for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Churchyarde at the signe of the Crane." (Without date, the preface being dated 15 March, 1583.)

4. "Histoire de la Gverre civile dv pays de Flandres. Contenant l'origine & progres d'icelle: les stratagemes des guerres: assiegements & expugnations des Villes & Forteresses: l'estat de la religion, depuis l'an 1559. iusques à la fin de l'an 1582. Diuisé en V Liures. A Lyon, par Jean Stratius, à la Bible d'or. M.D.LXXXIII. Auec priuilege du Roy, pour dix ans."[a]
5. "Histoire des Trovbles et gverre civile dv Pays de Flandres. Contenant l'origine et progres d'icelle, etc. depuis l'an 1559. iusques à present. Deuxiesme edition corrigee & augmentee. A Lyon, par Jean Stratius à la Bible d'or. M.D.LXXXIIII, avec priuilege du Roy pour dix ans."

The history of this book is revealed by the twenty-first entry in the Act-book of the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, held at Dordrecht, 18th June, 1578, which was to the following effect. The question was asked whether it was advisable to write a history of Netherland affairs. The answer or resolution passed was, that it would be very profitable that this should be done by the Heer Philip de Marnix de St. Aldegonde, and that all the churches should assist in this by collecting from their officials authentic particulars through their "classis," to be examined and sent in by the presidents on the 1st January, 1579, to the church of Antwerp, to be handed over to the Heer de St. Aldegonde. At this synod Isbrandus Trabius, then minister of the Sandwich Church, and Jan van Roo, an elder of the London Church, represented the Netherland Churches of England, according to a request of the classis of South and North Holland and Walcheren, in their letter of the 26th February, 1578, which was received by the Church of London on the 24th April following. These deputies brought

[a] It will be noticed that this privilege granted to Jean Béraud, bookseller of Lyons, dated at Paris 9th May, 1578, was assigned by him to Jean Stratius by deed, dated 17th May, 1583. There must have been collusion with the authorities with regard to these dates, for the arrangement made by the Synod of Dordrecht to have the work written was only made on the 18th June, 1578.

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back with them from Dordrecht the notice concerning the proposed history for the various consistories of the foreign churches in England, so that all who had certain knowledge of the particulars of the struggle with the crown in the Netherlands might send in the same to Johan de Raedermaker, of the London Church, to be transmitted to St. Aldegonde and "Leermydts" (L'Hermite [a]), the latter having apparently been associated with St. Aldegonde in the business. We know that some of the L'Hermite family joined the reformed Church at Antwerp, and that at the final reduction of that city by the Prince of Parma in 1585 they took refuge in Holland and England, one named Dennis going to Norwich, where he joined the Walloon or French Church established there in 1565.

This chronicle, detailing the history of the inquisition in the Netherlands, and the atrocities of the Duke of Alva's rule, could not but be most distasteful to the governing powers; the greatest care was therefore necessary in finding a printer to complete and bring out the book; certain death being the fate of any such carrying on his trade abroad on his share in the work being discovered. Even in England safety did not seem to be assured; de Solemne at Norwich, as we have seen, did not even care to affix his name as printer, the translator concealed his identity, and Adam Henricipetri was stated to be the author, St. Aldegonde's name being kept in the dark.

It is probable that the first edition was antedated, 1579 being given as the date of publication, though the title states that the history is "to this year 1580;" this was, however, only to 8th March, N.S., and Theophilus, the translator into Dutch, signed the preface "*ex nostro musæo*," 2nd December, 1579; this discrepancy of date may be explained by the two styles, but I suspect that the text of the history was cut short by a year, and the book antedated to further conceal its issue, for in the French edition it is continued to 24th February, 1582, and on page 514, 158.. is placed as a marginal note by the side of particulars of 1st January, 1581, and at the 8th March, 1580, where the Dutch edition concludes, 1580 is placed in the margin. It is therefore probable that these dates were put in the MS. to determine the ending of the first edition, and were not noticed on the proof sheets of the French edition. This second, or French, edition is comprised in four books or sections, the fourth commencing in September, 1576, the Dutch edition being differently arranged so as to be in only three books.

[a] Etienne L'Hermite, S[r] de la Fage, who died 1441, took the side of the Duke of Burgundy and settled in Brabant. This family is descended from Pierre L'Hermite, the celebrated preacher of the first crusade, who before he took holy orders had married Beatrice de Roucy, by whom he had a son and a daughter. From this son is descended the line which is still represented in France, and by two branches in this country.

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In the preface of the first, or Dutch, edition the translator directly calls it the work of Adam Henricipetri.[a]

In the French edition of 1582, Theophile, D.L., who signed the preface, claimed the authorship of it, dedicating the history to the high officials of the Netherlands as his "own book" ("*mien liure*"). This French or second edition has no printer's name or place of publication; and it could not have been issued in France, as there is no "imprimatur" or licence, which was then necessary in that country. Philip Marnix de St. Aldegonde, one of the confederated nobles, usually wrote in the French language, as may be seen by reference to the many works written by him; he also was in the habit of using the same in correspondence, so that it is more than probable that this French edition was his original text, and used by Theophilus for translation into Dutch for circulation among the Dutch or Flemish-speaking Netherlanders, the French edition being for the Walloons and Huguenots.

Theophilus was an assumed name for Carl Ryckewaert, who was born at Nieukerk, or Nieuwe Eglise. He married, 25th May, 1574, at the Dutch Church, London, Lowyseken Carboniers of Beveren, as "Karolus Rychart gheseit Theophilus." He was one of the first ministers of the reformed religion in the field-preachings in Flanders in 1566 and 1567. Taking refuge in England, probably in the latter year, he was with Hermannus Algoet and Isbrandus Trabius, alias Balkius, minister of the Dutch Church of Norwich in 1571. On the 16th September of this year these three ministers were discharged from their offices by a commission of the archbishop, the bishops, and others, in consequence of the serious dissensions between them; their congregation having divided into the two sides. This left Ryckewaert free for literary work, but he is later found at Thetford as minister of the Dutch church of that town. With regard to the initials D. L. after Theophile, they are by Dr. Campbell, the curator of the Royal Library at the Hague, supposed to be for *dives laen*, a mixture of Latin and Dutch, to correspond with *ryck vaert*, or rich lane or passage.

The third or English edition closely follows the text and preface of the French or second edition; having in addition a preface signed by Thomas Stocker, 15th March, 1583, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

The fourth and fifth editions are remarkable publications. The effect of the book from a political point of view must have been very great, and also very detrimental to the Roman Church, it having been written to expose, as expressed in the work itself, "the horrible oppression of bloodie Tyraunts," who with the aid

[a] The author of *General Historien etc. Getruckt zu Basel durch Sebastian Henricpetri*, 1577. B. M. $\frac{9326 \cdot g}{1.}$.

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of the inquisition, fire and the gallows, were determined to root out in the Netherlands the right of worshipping God according to the light of the reformed teaching. The edition in French of 1582 must have been circulated in France by the Huguenots and have found its way into the hands of the priests and authorities, who most cleverly had this edition arranged, with all passages which tended to bring odium on the Roman Church and faith omitted or altered. The notice of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, on the 24th August, 1572, the most horrible incident that perhaps ever took place in France, is totally erased, and matters made as pleasant as possible for the King of Spain. Many fresh passages were included, but generally, with the above exceptions, the texts of the fourth and fifth editions follow closely the edition of 1582. The preface of Theophilus, however, is totally omitted, and the history is briefly extended to November, 1582. The editors must have been in collusion with the authorities, for the imprimatur or licence for their publication professes to have been dated on the 9th May, 1578, which was some weeks before the arrangements were made for the compilation of the work, and six months before the materials were handed to the real author. The assignment of the licence was only to conceal the piracy. The fourth edition must have had a rapid sale, for in the following year it was reproduced. This fifth edition is the one by far most commonly met with, it being occasionally to be procured from the Paris booksellers. The fourth or first pirated edition is very scarce and difficult to find.

Of the other editions that of Norwich in Dutch from Solen's press is the rarest, the copy now in my possession having been procured only after being advertised for in Holland and throughout Europe during five years in the booksellers' circulars. The first French edition is also very rare, a copy having sold for 815 francs at a sale at Brussels in 1850. The English edition is also seldom to be met with.

As far as these particulars go they prove that Philip de Marnix de St. Aldegonde, a well-known author, who took an active part as one of the nobles confederated against the Spanish rule, was requested to write this history; that "Leermydts," who was associated with him in this work, had a relation at Norwich, where Solemne, a native of Brabant, was established and acted as a printer; that Ryckewaert alias Theophilus, who had been a minister of the Dutch Church at Norwich, was the translator into Dutch; and lastly, that its political and religious influence was limited as far as possible by the issue of a mutilated edition with the collusion of the French crown.

There are but few particulars to be gathered regarding Solemne, the first Norwich printer. His printing-house appears to have been in the parish of St. Andrew's in 1570, according to the broadside of some verses written by

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Thomas Brooke and printed in that year. He was already printing in 1568, and was still at work as we have seen in 1579. His name is found in the lay subsidies for Norwich, 23 Elizabeth, 7th June, 1581 (membrane 7 dorso), being returned in St. John's parish in Wymer Ward, assessed on 8*l.* goods, tax 26*s.* 8*d.* In the same subsidy for the parish of St. Martin at the Oak, in the ward beyond the water, is the name of Philip Solen, probably a son, assessed for goods 20*s.*, tax 3*s.* 4*d.* He and his family were members of the Dutch Church of that city, the early registers of which are unfortunately missing. In the subsidies for 1598 and later the name does not appear.

Dr. Cotton, in his typographical gazetteer, p. 109, gives the following books, printed by Solemne:

1. A well-printed volume in 12mo., containing a Dutch metrical version of the Psalms, entitled "De CL Psalmen David, etc. folio, Norwitz, gheprint by Anthonium de Solemne, anno M.DLXVIII."
2. A curious calendar, consisting of eight leaves only, printed in red and black, entitled "Einen Calendier Historie, etc. Ghedruct tot Norwitz, etc. anno MDLXX." Among the historical notices scattered through this calendar is one of the opening of the Dutch Church at Norwich under the authority of the Queen on the 24th December, 1565.
3. A Dutch version of the New Testament, entitled "Het Nieuwe Testament, etc. Ghedruct int Jaer, 1568."
4. A broadside, entitled "Certayne Verses, written by Thomas Brooke, Gent. of Rolsbie." This work is contained in thirty-two verses. Imprinted at Norwich, in the parish of St. Andrew, 1570.

There is another book printed by Solemne, copies of which are in the libraries of W. A. Tyssen Amherst, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., and of Trinity College, Dublin:

Het tweede boeck, dande sermonem des wel vermaerden Predicants B. Cornelis Adrianssen Nv eerstmael in Duch vuytgegeven buyten Noirdvvitz. 1578.

Mr. Tyssen Amherst has also another example of Solemne's press, which is believed by him to be *unique*.

Belijdenisse ende eeuvondige uitlegghinge des waerachtiger gheloofs / ende der algemeynen articulen van de sughere Christelicke religie / gemaect met gemeyner eendrachtlicheyt van de Dienaers der kercken Jesu Christi / die daer in Switzerlant zijn: te weten te Zurich / te Bernen / te Schaphousen / te Sainct Gal / te Chur der Rhetzen / ende hare Bondt-ghenoten / te Meythousen ende Briennen / by den welc-ken dat haer oock de Dienaers van de Kercke van Geneven ghercoecht hebben: int licht ghegheven tot dien eynde / op dat zy voor alle gheloouighe menschen betuyghen moghen / dat sy volherden in de eenicheyt van de warachtighe ende oude Christelicke Kercke / eñ dat sy geen niewe noch valsche leeringen en stroey-en / eñ daerom oock gheen ge-

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meynschap met eenige secten oft Ketterijen en hebben. Welcke Belijdenisse sy nv op desen tijt wtghe-uen / op dat al de ghene die den Heere vreesen / daer van oordeelen moghen.

Item die Belijdenisse des Gheloofs der Ghemeynten van Frankrijck / die den alder Christelicksten Coninck ghetoont was / om te beevijsen dat sy oock van de selve meyninghe ende eenicheyt met dese andere zijn. Rom. 10. Metter herten gelooftmen tot rechtueerdicheit / maer metten mont belijdtmen totter salicheijt. Anno. 1568. Gheprint tot Nordwitz bij Antonium de Solemne. Small 8vo.

It may be noted that the monumental inscription to Francis Burgess, buried in St. Andrew's church, Norwich, records that he was the first printer in Norwich; his first book being dated 1701. This claim however is incorrect, as Solemne preceded him by 133 years.

The following are the transcripts of the entries in the Act Books of the Synod of Dordrect, and of the colloquies of the Dutch Churches in England:

Oude Kerkordeningen der Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeenten 1563—1638, verzameld door C. Hooijer, Zalt Bommel, 1865.

Nationale Synode gehouden te Dordrecht, 18 Juin, 1578.

"21. Of het profytelyk is te schryven de Historie der Nederlandsche geschiedenissen? Antwoord, Dat is geheel profytelyck, en daar toe is verkoren de Heer Philip de Marnix de St. Aldegonde; is ook opgelegt allen Kerken-Dienaren neerstelyk op te tekenen dingen, dewelke in haar Contreien van de eerste vryheid afgeschied zyn, en indien zy daar af ten vollen verzekert zyn, zullen ook het zelve den Classi overgeven, met uitdrukkinge van den tyd, wanneer hetzelve geschied is; doch zullen zij in de Classis neerstelijk overlezen worden, op dat men verzekert zy, of zy ook waarheid zyn of niet, en opdat zulks niet en worde nagelaten door onagtzaamheid, zoo zullen ook alle de Dienaren des Classis door den Praesident vermaand worden, om tegen den 1 January, 1579, hare Aanteekeningen gereed te hebben, en om overgezonden te worden, aan de Antwerpsche Gemeente, die dezelve overleveren zal aan den Heer de St. Aldegonde."

Colloquy of the Dutch Churches in England, held in London 10 Sept. 1578. Act Book (Austin Friars archives), I. page 53.

Voorder achtervolgende het inhoudt van der 21ste vraeghe voortghestelt in het Synodus ghehouden tot Dordrecht laetsleeden besloten is gheweest aldaer datmen een hystorie der Nederlantscher gheschiedenessen beschryven zoude ende dat daer toe bestemt es de Heere St. Aldegonde ende Leermydts dat tot die syne besloten is dat alle dienaeren alle ghetuichteghe zaeken die vande voorleeden vryhz af gheschiet zyn nierstelycken op bekenen zoude zo verre zy zeker kennesse daer van hebben ende zelve tot haerliede classissche versamelyngen brenghen ende alzo voort ghelyc men inde voornoemde artykel des voornoemde synody zie mach So is alhier in deisen colloquio gheoordyneert ende daer toe bestemt dñ Johan de Raedermaker ande welchen alle consistorien deises conynckryc overseđe zullen alle ghetuichege zaeken daer zy zeeker kennesse van hebben met alle cierconstancien der zelver om alzo de zelve tzaemen ghebrachte sticke voort over dzede an de kercke van hantwerppe teghen de tyt die daer toe in het voornomde aertycule bestemt es."

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XII.—*Observations on a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, from Boughton House, Northants, the property of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, K.T. by* GEORGE SCHARF, *C.B., F.S.A.*

Read February 2, 1888.

CONSIDERING the almost countless portraits of Queen Elizabeth that are known to exist, it is remarkable how very few actual repetitions there are among them. With other portraits of distinguished and popular characters the case is quite different, as they may be classified into so many groups in each of which the pictures are exactly alike.

The portrait which I have the honour of describing this evening, by favour of the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Walter Scott, has the peculiarity of not standing alone. It possesses a very interesting counterpart at Westminster, in the Dean's library, where it is inserted in a panel over the fireplace. Being a fixture, there is unfortunately no possibility of its being brought hither for examination. Before, however, entering into a comparison of the two pictures, it may be well to consider some of the characteristics of the portrait before us.

The queen stands erect in magnificent array with a radiating ruff of white lace, stomacher, farthingale, and train, but without any indication of royalty beyond a small arched crown in the centre of her feather-fan. Her throat is encircled by five rows of pearls. A profusion of jewels, consisting of large scarlet corāls, black stones cut into facets (for diamonds), and pearls alternating with puffs of lavender silk form stripes down her ample sleeves, and a rich collar, also of gold and jewels, reaches from shoulder to shoulder. But it is observable that her delicately-shaped and slender fingers are entirely destitute of rings.

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The elaborately patterned ruff of white lace is open in the front to show her neck, and the radiated flutings rise nearly to the top of her head. The structure of the ruff is peculiar, instead of being folded like an ordinary fan, zig-zag fashion ⩙⩙, or curved as so often seen ∫∫∫∫, each flute forms a large and isolated tube like a hollow cone. It may best be illustrated by the passage quoted in Mr. Dillon's edition of Fairholt's Glossary of Costume, vol. ii. page 353, where a character in one of Heywood's plays says "The set of my ruff looked like so many organ pipes, and alarmed puritans."

This same structure of the fluting may also be seen in a lace ruff on a portrait of the queen contributed by Mr. Cholmondeley to the 1866 Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington, No. 356 of the catalogue.

The white stomacher terminating in a point is patterned with pearls meandering among the jewels, and the two converging bands of jewels descending from the shoulders are mingled with sprigs of pale wild roses and leaves fastened on to and not embroidered in the dress. The bordering of her train is adorned in similar manner with wild flowers among jewels. Her farthingale (vertugadin)[a] is covered having a pattern of black rosettes with a pearl in the centre of each, alternating with wavy stars or suns with a black stone in each enclosed in an octagonal bordering of gold.

This same petticoat appears on a portrait of Queen Elizabeth at Christ Church, Oxford (No. 350 of the 1866 Portrait Exhibition), but with different sleeves and other adjuncts.

It is something to find a lady who possessed upwards of two thousand dresses of all nations in her wardrobe (Dillon's Fairholt, vol. i. page 243), wearing the same article of attire a second time.

The structure of the stomacher as depicted by the artist in the portrait before us is a little difficult to comprehend. He was not a complete master of perspective, for although the front of the body appears flat there must have been curvature about it or some cylindrical form, as the second row of jewels to the left of the central row is wanting or hidden, as it would seem, by the V-like framework before described. The face of the queen is seen in three-quarters to the left, but her figure, and certainly the hips, are turned in full. The large jewel at the top of the stomacher, and the large pearl pendent from the five rows of pearls round her throat, are decidedly directed to the left.

With respect to the name of the artist, it would be difficult to give an opinion;

[a] Montfaucon, *Les Monuments de la Monarchie Française.* Folio. La Haye, 1745, Pl. ccxxxi. fig. 1.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH IN HER SIXTIETH YEAR.

From a picture at Boughton House in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch, K.T.

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court painters who produced exact representations of dresses in Chinese fashion were numerous. The faults above named would show that the dress was mechanically produced, but the hands are the work of a superior artist worthy of Marc Gheeraedts, who must have been endued with moral courage and self-reliance to produce her Majesty's countenance with so many wrinkles and other indications of age.

The work has been cleverly done, because, although the wrinkles and foding of the skin above the eyelids are all there, at a slight distance they cease to appear. There are portraits of Queen Elizabeth; some at Hampton Court and in the National Portrait Gallery, in which the ravages of age are more conspicuous. They look haggard at a distance, but they are truthful and attributed to Gheeraedts, who was then at the commencement of his career, and had, in the reign of James I. attained considerable excellence, as may be seen in his pictures of the Convention of 1604 at Somerset House, now in the National Portrait Gallery, and portraits at Woburn Abbey and Penshurst Place. Gheeraedts arrived in this country in 1580 from Holland after Zucharo had quitted our shores.

He remained here and improved in practice. He must have had good recommendations to paint so many of the nobility and royalty at the outset of his career.

Before entering upon details of the Westminster picture, I may recall to the memory of my hearers the very remarkable restoration that was made of the well-known full length portrait of Richard II., which hung for many years in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey. It is engraved in an early volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and also by John Carter in his *Specimens*.

It had in successive periods been smothered with paint under the false name of cleaning and restoration until nothing of the original was left.

Mr. George Richmond, R.A. F.S.A. induced the Dean of Westminster to have the painting examined, and Mr. Henry Merritt, a very competent authority, with great experience in cleaning pictures, gave it as his opinion that all these false layers of paint could safely be removed, and that the original surface which remained below undisturbed would then be revealed.

The Dean had confidence, and being well supported by other judges, determined to have a portion of the picture put to the proof. The test succeeded. One half of the face was dealt with; the original painting reappeared, and for some days Richard the Second's countenance was that of two very different persons "dimidiated," so as in fact to remind one of the specimens that sometimes

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appear in frame-makers' shop-windows with "pictures carefully cleaned" written under them.

The success attending the experiment on King Richard's face justified further proceedings, and in the course of a few weeks the complete portrait, resplendent with gold, shone forth, and the panel was then carried back to Westminster—not to the Jerusalem Chamber—but to be reinstated in the sacrarium of the abbey church itself, where it had originally been placed. A careful account of the proceedings and parallel cases of legitimate restoration was drawn up under the Dean's auspices by myself, and it was published with illustrations in B. B. Woodward's *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, vol. v. January, 1867, page 27.

The deanery portrait of Queen Elizabeth has no doubt been exactly the same as the one here brought from Boughton; what variations there are are attributable solely to the mischievous machinations of restorers of the same kind as those to which the Jerusalem Chamber portrait of Richard II. was subjected.

The picture from Boughton exhibits the countenance of the queen at a late period of life in precisely the condition it was when the picture was originally painted. The features are undisturbed, the wrinkles and furrows are all there, and the nose and mouth agree with the features in all the authentic portraits of Elizabeth at an advanced age.

The deanery one is laden with a mask of opaque oil colour, and displays a smooth round youthful countenance, dimpled or cloven chin, and pink cheeks with full red idealised lips, totally at variance with that which probably still lies hidden underneath.

Both pictures appear to be of the same size; but one is on panel and the other is on canvas.

The fact of the deanery portrait being on panel leads me to suppose that it is the earlier of the two.

The following differences between the two pictures have been observed.

The deanery one is darker in tone with smoothly and solidly painted shadows. The forehead quite smooth and the eyes and eyebrows dark. The forehead is lower and more contracted, and the cheek-bones high like Mary queen of Scots. The nostrils are quite different; the face is altogether rounder, and the nose straighter. The further nostril is also visible. The eyes are more turned towards the spectator. There is less space between her left eye and ear. Her chin is dimpled; that is, cloven. The line of eyebrows dark and quite altered. The eyelids different, being fleshy and youthful. Only one string of pearls remains

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round the throat, the other four having been removed or obliterated, and no large pearl appears pendent from them in front. Two massive pearls have been added, or painted in, as hanging from the lace ruff between her breast and shoulders. The hair is much darker brown and more solid than in the Boughton picture. In the deanery picture the sprigs of roses are much darker, and the red jewels (corals) duller and more obscured in tone.

These alterations are sad perversions, and any engraving made from the deanery picture as it now stands would be very misleading.

In the present state of things the Boughton picture is much more valuable, having altogether escaped restoration. I am not without hopes that the Dean will be induced to have the modern encumbrances removed from the Westminster portrait in the same careful manner as was adopted with that of Richard II. He very kindly afforded me the opportunity of seeing the two pictures side by side, and thereby establishing a very careful comparison.

I have not yet ascertained when this portrait of the Queen came to the deanery, but it was in all probability a present from the Queen herself, and from the authority imparted by its distinguished position will always be held in very high estimation. I am not aware that it ever has as yet been engraved, and from its fixed position, being let into the wall of the apartment, it has never been seen at any of the great loan exhibitions, either at Burlington House (the Royal Academy, Old Masters) or South Kensington, Leeds or Manchester.

There still remains to be noticed a conspicuous feature common to both pictures, namely, a large tablet in the upper left-hand corner containing the following inscription in gilt letters on a black ground.

VIVat, VInCat, Regnet,
ELIsabetha,
AngLIæ, FranCIæ, aC HIbernIæ
RegIna
FIDeI DefensatrIX
HenrICI 8^{VI} RegIs F
Anno regnI sVI, XXXVII.

Below this (and perhaps not forming part of the original inscription) is written, in smaller characters, and with yellow paint instead of gold :—

"Nata VI · EID sept. Å ℞ 1533 Grone. Init Reg. Eliza: kal. 17 dies Novem."

The chronogram formed by the numeral letters in the gilt inscription makes

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the date 1597, which does not accord with the direct statement that the picture was painted "Anno regni sui xxxvii," the 37th regnal year of Queen Elizabeth being 1594-5.

This transcript of the inscription, with observations, has been supplied to me by my friend F. M. O'Donoghue, F.S.A. who had previously examined the writing with great care.

A mention of the picture in the deanery at Westminster will be found in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol. ii. page 167. In this notice it is remarked that the picture, dated in 1595, the thirty-seventh year of the queen's reign, professedly representing her when approaching the age of sixty, has the countenance of a person of less than half those years. It is thought to have been much repainted, but the writer assumes that it is not in that respect much varied from its original appearance. Had the Boughton picture been known at that time, and been brought into comparison with it, the critic would in all probability have arrived at a different conclusion.

The best thanks of the Society are due to the Duke of Buccleuch for the facilities which his Grace has afforded for examination of the picture, and for permission to have it photographed for the purpose of illustration. Thanks also are due to Lord Walter Scott for his friendly aid in the first instance in obtaining access to the picture for making preliminary observations.

GEORGE SCHARF.

1st February, 1888.
National Portrait Gallery Offices, Westminster,

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XIII.—*Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich*, 1547.

By the Honourable Harold Arthur Dillon, *F.S.A.*

Read February 16, 1888.

The volume from which the following lists of arms and armour are taken is a neatly written MS. of 469 folios, presented to the Society in 1775 by Gustavus Brander, Esq. F.S.A.[a]

The volume is complete in itself, but is in fact the larger portion of an inventory of the property of Henry VIII. taken in the first year of Edward VI. 1547. The remainder of the inventory is in the Harleian collection of MSS., and is contained in MSS. 1419 A and B. Of these two latter parts A contains the guardrobes and household stuff in the Tower of London, and at Greenwich, Westminster, Hampton Court, Otelands, Nonsuch, Windsor, and other palaces and houses of the late king.[b] Part B enumerates various deliveries of stuff to different persons during the first four years of Edward VI. and is consequently a partial repetition of part A.

The contents of the volume in our library are: jewels, glass, plate, etc. ff. 7–225; The ordnance and munition at the Tower, ff. 251–256; The ordnance and munition at various "bulwerks" and castles in England, and the English possessions

[a] It is probably one of those referred to in the payment made January, 1531: "To John Porth 3 new great books of paper Royal of the largest assize, bought by him for the King's rich jewels and plate; and for the repairing of the old book. 15*s.* 8*d.*"

[b] Also the manors of Woodstock, More, Richmond, Bewley or New Hall, Castle of Nottingham St. John's nigh London, Bedington, Duresm Place, St. James House nigh Westminster.

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in France, ff. 258-374;[a] The ships and their armament, ff. 375–424; The armoury at Westminster, ff. 429–433; The armoury at Greenwich, ff. 434–440.

The remainder of the volume contains the lists of armour, etc. at the smaller armouries of Windsor, Hampton Court, and elsewhere.

The portions here selected are the lists of arms and armour at the Tower, at Westminster, and at Greenwich. They have been chosen as comprising the large stores more immediately in and around London, and also as containing the earliest notice of what is now the Tower collection, but which was in those days located at Greenwich.

Of that collection, after its removal to the Tower, lists have been printed in *Archaeologia*, vols. xi. and xxxvii. That in vol. xxxvii. is a list for the year 1631, and that in vol. xi. a portion of the list of 1660. The entire list of the latter date has been printed in the *Archaeological Journal*.[b]

The removal of the collection from Greenwich to London took place about 1644, as appears from a petition in 1660 by Edward Annesley, but the exact date is uncertain, and I have been as yet unable to find any record of, or order for, such transfer, either in the Journals of the Houses of Parliament or in the Calendars of State Papers.

The transfer did however take place, and between 1631 and 1660, though some of the armour must have been removed before those dates, as Hentzner in 1598 mentions seeing some at the Tower, at which place none is noted in this inventory.

In the Record Office there is a MS. inventory of the stuff at Greenwich in 1542, and though no armour is mentioned many of the weapons of the 1547 list may be recognised. Where the identification is certain, such earlier mention has been noticed in this paper.

Of the Brander MS. and Harleian MS. 1419, portions only have been printed.

Grose, Meyrick and Hewitt have all given extracts relating to arms from our MS., but the passages selected have been printed often incorrectly, and generally

[a] The following are the bulwerks, etc. mentioned: Bulwerk of Gravesend, Mylton, Estilbery, West Tilbery, Higham, Queenboro Castle, Sandown Castle, Deale Castle, Walmer Castle, Dover Castle, and its bulwerks, Sandgate Castle, Cambre, Portsmouth, The Tower at Portsmouth, The South Castell, Yarmouth Castle I. of Wight, Carisbrook Castle, Sandwich bay, West Cowes, Calshotte, Hurst Castle, Poole, Pendennis Castle, St. Mawse, Isle of Portland, Sandisfote, Calice, Guisnes, Blakeness, Newhaven, High Bulloigne, Base Bulloigne, Nottingham, Pontefract, Carlell, Warke, Holy Island, Alnwick, Berwick, Newcastle, Kymouth, Scarboro, Flamboro, Kingston, Harwich, Bangor, Humes Castle, Roxboro, Combspick.

[b] Vol. iv. p. 341.

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out of due order, and the latter portion of the MS. in which suits of armour occur, seems to have escaped the notice of these authors.

Of the Harleian MS. the list of royal pictures was printed, with a valuable comparison of the Greenwich inventory of 1542, by our Fellow George Scharf, Esq. C.B., in the "Old London" volume of the Archaeological Institute.

The furniture in the royal palaces, as mentioned in Harleian MS. 1419 has been printed in vol. xv. of the *Retrospective Review*. The mirrors, musical instruments, clocks, vessels of glass, alabaster and earth at Westminster, from the inventory of 1542, were printed by Mr. Burtt, with an introductory notice by Mr. Albert Way in the *Archaeological Journal*.[a]

It appears from the inventory that a large portion of the stores at Westminster was brought thence to the Tower, but the date of the removal is not stated, though it appears to have been effected at the close of Henry's reign or the commencement of Edward's. It may have been the latter date when, with a very young monarch, it was deemed safer for at least a considerable portion of the arms, etc. to be in a closed place like the Tower, instead of at Westminster, where they were liable to be seized by designing persons.

As to the date of the formation of the armoury at Greenwich the exact time is not known, but it was probably early in Henry's reign, and perhaps at the time when he established the Almain armourers there in 1514.

The Tower was however the show-place to which distinguished foreigners were taken, and we have numerous notices by ambassadors of the visits to the great military storehouse and fortress.

In 1515 Pasqualigo, the Venetian, writes that he has seen the Tower, where, besides the lions and leopards, were shown the king's bronze artillery mounted on 400 carriages, also bows and arrows and pikes for 40,000 infantry. He adds, "they say they have a like store at Calais and a place near Scotland."

In 1535 Chapuis writes to Charles V. "The French ambassador showed no pleasure at any attention that was shown to him, even at the Tower of London and the Ordnance."

Numerous other instances might be mentioned of distinguished strangers visiting the Tower, not only in this reign, but in after years.[b]

[a] Vol. xviii. p. 134.

[b] In 1554, Soranzo, the Venetian, reports: "His majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery both in the fortresses beyond sea, as well as in many places in the realm, and especially at the Tower of London, where the ammunition of every sort is preserved."

The following account of a visit to the Tower in 1672 by Mons. Jorevin de Rocheford was

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It is often asked how it is that so little ancient armour remains, not suits of individuals, but the soldier's equipment. It must be remembered that till the time of Henry VIII. there was not the present idea of the Crown supplying the soldiers' arms or armour.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, when Europe was in a disturbed state, and large armies were brought into the field by the Emperor, the King of France, and others, great quantities of armour were made in Germany and Italy, and the wholesale production of it was probably one of the causes which led eventually to its disuse, inferior work being given to meet the constant demand. Henry bought largely through his servants and agents, but as fashions varied, and important changes were made in equipment, old stuff was used up for the new requirements. Thus, in the inventory we find at Westminster "300 blacke stele targetts made of olde harnesse by the said Hanse" (Hunter, the king's armourer). And in 1562 Elizabeth ordered "9 curates of olde Almaigne rivets, 785 pair of splynts, 482 sallets, 60 olde hedpec's, and 60 olde curats of dimilances" to be altered and transposed into plates for making 1500 jacks for the use of the navy.

In 1635 Charles I. issued a commission to Mountjoy earl of Newport to select armour for 10,000 men at the Tower, and to sell the remainder to persons in the country who had none.

During the Civil War the stores at the Tower were drawn on by both sides at

published in 1672 at Paris, and is printed in Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv. 569. It is interesting as showing the state not only of Tower, but also of antiquarian knowledge in those days.

"The great arsenal consists of several great halls, and magazines filled with arms of all sorts, sufficient to equip an army of an hundred thousand men. Our conductor shewed us a great hall, hung with casques and cuirasses for arming both infantry and cavalry; among others were some which had been worn by different kings of England in their wars; they were all gilded and engraved in the utmost perfection.

"We saw the armour of William the Conqueror, with his great sword; and the armour of his Jester, to whose casque was fixed horns; he had, it is said, an handsome wife. Moreover they shewed us a cuirass made with cloves, another of mother of pearl; these two were locked up in a separate closet. We passed into another hall, where there were nothing but muskets, pistols, musketoons, bandeliers, swords, pikes, and halberds, arranged in a very handsome order, so as to represent figures of many sorts. We saw William the Conqueror's musket, which is of such a length and thickness, that it is as much as a man can do to carry it on his shoulders. We descended from this room into another place, where there are the magazines of cannons, bullets, powder, and match, and other machines of war, each in its particular place. But after all, this is nothing when compared to that of Venice. It is true, that I saw in a cabinet in the king's palace many arms, which, for their beauty and exquisite workmanship, surpassed the rarest in the arsenal of Venice. This was by the permission of Monsieur de la Mare, the king's armourer."

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different times, and the Greenwich collection was brought up to London, and no doubt the useful stuff in it all taken for service.

The above are a few of the many reasons there are, for so little ancient armour being found in the national collection, and when the changes of pattern and style are remembered, it will be seen that nothing operated so strongly for the preservation to our times of the ancient armour as the disuse of it by the soldier.

It will be best to consider the weapons in all three stores together, taking them according to their classes, and marking any peculiarities which may occur. Most of the notes illustrating the use, cost, or other circumstances connected with them, have been culled from the Calendars of State Papers, and the repetition of remarks by Grose, Meyrick, or other writers, has, as far as possible, been avoided. The armour is best examined separately, in the two collections at Westminster and Greenwich.

All the artillery of the inventory was at the Tower, and the bulwerks and castles. That at the Tower is all we propose to notice, though a few remarks on the various classes of guns and ammunition in Henry's days must be given.

Of the guns at the Tower, sixty-four of brass and three hundred and fifty-one of iron, there are some which have a history, and, but for the disastrous fire in 1841. we might have been able to recognise to-day more of the pieces mentioned in the inventory.*

Of the "two Venyssian cannon," the following is the story:—In May 1522, Henry detained three of the so-called Flanders galleys belonging to Venice, and trading with Flanders and England, at Southampton, on the ground that they might be seized by the French, and used against the emperor, at that time the ally of Henry. The guns were taken out of the galleys and conveyed some twelve miles away. Vincenzo Priuli, the captain of the galleys, protested, but to no purpose; and eventually was instructed by the Signory to get other guns for the galleys, but on no account to go away without Henry's permission. This was refused until the Venetian Government should promise not to side with France. The Pope also wrote to Henry, asking him to release them. Henry offered to do so if the Signory would give a bond of 100,000 ducats that they would not form an alliance with France, that the customs due by Venetian merchants should be paid in ready money, and that a squadron should be sent annually to England, and further, that he should keep the guns. Early in 1523 Henry fitted out the galleys against the French, but in March he released them. The mariners in the

* Henry's cannon, called "the Twelve Apostles," do not appear in the list.

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meanwhile had left them, and Henry detained six of the guns. When asked for them, Wolsey said "Go and take them; they are three miles off" (? at Calshot castle). In June, Wolsey, writing to Pace, bids him inform the Venetians that Henry has released the galleys and goods of the merchants, though against the advice of some of his council; but that, as he was sending from Portsmouth some ships which lacked certain pieces of artillery, "I of myself, without any consent of their ambassadors here resident, or the patrons of the galleys, willing, for the love that I bore them, to show a confirmation of their good minds towards the king's grace, took upon me to borrow out of the said galleys six great pieces of artillery, that is to say, of every galley two pieces, trusting that the said duke and senate will be contented."

The Doge wrote to thank Henry and Wolsey, and said that as Henry wanted six of the Signory's guns, he might have them if he would lend six others for the return journey, which latter should on the next voyage to Flanders be returned. Finally, on 30th June 1523 the galleys departed. The Donata is mentioned as one, but the names of the other two are not given.[a]

There are now in the Tower collection two bronze guns, Nos. 14 and 15, described in the official catalogue as of about 1520. They are octagonal externally, and the bores are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. They correspond in form with types of 1500-1530, as shown in General Favé's *Etudes sur l'Artillerie;* and though there is nothing on them which would mark them to be Venetian cannon, yet we may fairly suppose them to be the two mentioned in the inventory.

"The Brode Fawcon, shoting iij shotte," is No. 10 of the official catalogue. It bears on it the rose, supported by lions, and surmounted by a crown, with the inscriptions, HENRICVS OCTAVVS DEI GRATIA ANGLIÆ ET FRANCIE REX FIDEI DEFENSOR DNS HIB. PETRVS BAVDE GALLVS OPERIS ARTIFEX, and POVR DEFENDRE. This piece, which externally is rectangular, has the three bores side by side, and the three spaces for placing the three chambers, as in early breech-loading cannon. It was much damaged by fire in 1841, but enough remains to show that it was a gun of great beauty. Mr. Hewitt considered it to be one of those referred to as seen by Hentzner in 1598, "Tormenta duo ex quorum altero tres, ex altero septem globi possunt explodi."

The "French gonnes of Brasse" may have been part of the spoils of Boulogne in 1544, or else the work of the same Peter Bawde who cast brass guns for Henry at Houndsditch as early as 1525, though Stowe first mentions him *sub anno* 1543.

[a] In 1536, there was at Portsmouth "a brass piece of Venice making."

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The "Skottishe gonnes of Brasse," seventeen in number, would, of course, include some of the pieces taken at Flodden. According to Hall, the guns taken there consisted of "5 great curtalls, 2 great culverynges, 4 sacres, and 5 serpentynes, as fayre ordnance as hathe bene, beside other small peces." James had at that battle some "extraordinary fair culverines called the seven sisters," and the two at the Tower may have been of that set. Some of these "Skottishe peces" were afterwards used by Sir William Drury to batter Edinburgh Castle during the successful siege in 1573. Though the Scotch did make cannon, as witness the death of James II. when present at the trial of one in 1460, and Mons Meg herself, it is worth noting that in Dec. 1512 De la Motte took to Scotland "8 serpentines of brass for the field, 3 yards long and more," which shot "a stone as much as a swan's egg or more."

The iron guns comprise eleven of the numerous varieties in use in Henry VIII.'s time, but were only a small portion of the great number possessed by that king. He had quantities of ordnance cast for him abroad, as for instance the forty-eight pieces made in 1512 by Poppenreuter at Malines; and he established gun-foundries in England, importing foreigners, as Bawde from France, Arcanus de Arcanis from Cesena in Italy, Peter van Collen, and others, who taught their art; whilst the Owens, Huggets, Walker (who made Henry VII.'s tomb), Herbert, Sowyn, Symonds, Norton, Levett, Johnson and others, constructed both iron and brass guns all through this reign.

In 1513, at the commencement of the war with France, Bavarin, the Venetian ambassador, reports to the Doge that Henry, besides numerous cavalry and infantry, had "cannon enough to conquer hell."[a]

[a] In 1523, among the guns at the Tower ready for use were:

Of brass, bumbards, bumbardelles, double curtows, curtows, and others.

Of iron, a hoole welslang.

At Portsmouth in 1528 there were:

Of brass, a demy curtowe, 12 susters (? sisters), 2 vice pieces of Houndesdyche, 2 vice pieces called payce valaunce (? pieces volantes).

Henry VIII. had French gunmakers working at Houndsditch, and the *vice* probably refers to the mounting of the guns by being screwed into a wooden block.

In 1529 at Carlisle Castle besides small serpentines of brass of a foot long and other guns, there was 1 pot gun.

In 1523 the Earl of Surrey mentions 4 lizards at the siege of Lesford.

In "a remembrance of the ordnance" of the year 1523:

A bombarde colbren or postell is mentioned as requiring 36—40 horses, and 60—80 labourers assisting them, to draw it.

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Many of the iron guns were breech-loading pieces with spare chambers.[a]

The cannon of this time may be seen in the Cowdray pictures, the German works executed in honour of Maximilian by Durer, Burghmaier, and others, also in the bas-reliefs on the tomb of Francis I., and, best of all, by the pieces of ordnance still remaining in the Tower.

Guns appear to have had individual names in those days, as had the tents also.

Lists of the names of guns made in 1512 by Poppenreuter of Malines for Henry VIII. and of the tents and pavilions at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, will be found in the Calendars of State Papers of this reign.

Though black, or some very dark colour, has been usual for guns, there were exceptions; the bombard, called "the redde gonne," which met with so many mishaps in France, being one.

[a] In 1517, we are told that English ships proceeding to trade at Bordeaux, on arriving in the Gironde cast anchor off Blaye, and left the chambers of their artillery there. This was a temporary disarmament without the labour of landing the cannon.

Though not contained in the portions of the Brander MS. now selected, there are many guns mentioned in the various strongholds enumerated in the Inventory, which are of much interest as showing the great variety of ordnance and ammunition in those days. Thus we have:

Basiliskes, cannons, demi cannons, bastard cannons and cannon periers, culverins, Novemboro (Nuremberg) culverins, demi culverins, bastard culverins, sacres, curtall sacres and wringtailed sacres, minions, fawcons, brode fawcons, fawconnets, serpentines, robinetts, bases, ring bases, double bases, single bases, demye bases, waggan bases, port pieces, fowlers, murtherers, flankers, mortar peices, slinges, demy slings, quarter slings and Portugal slings, topp peices, hag bushes of iron and of brass, Boymish (Bohemian) hag bushes, black cartes, shrimps, bombards, organ pipes of brass, haile shot peices.

Sling was evidently the English form of the German *schlange*, a serpent, which with the English culverin from the French *couleuvre* gives the early notion of the shape of cannon. The organ pipes were the Gatling guns of the day, and the shrimps appear to have been, like the waggon bases, small guns mounted by threes in protected carts.

Of these waggon bases we may form some idea from the engravings of the Cowdray pictures, and the description of some similar engines of war used by Albany in his campaign in Scotland in 1523. Queen Margaret writes to Surrey of him: "Alsua he hath gret pavays apon vhylz (pavices upon wheels) vyth the artylery to schwt and to brek the hostys syndre, and of thys he hath mony, and every een of them hath tway scharpe swordys befoor them that nen may tawsche them."

Sir William Bulmer in a letter to Surrey also speaks of "six carts covered with steel and brass with eight men in each and certain guns;" he adds, that each cart "is carried with barbed horses and goeth backward." We have here the ribaudequin figured by Grose, and the forerunner of the armoured train of modern campaigns.

The "topp pecis" were probably like the topp darts mentioned further on, for use in the tops of ships.

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In 1521 there is a payment to Cornelius Johnson for "making black, of iron guns" at the Tower, and for gun-locks. In the previous year he had supplied 208 gun-locks for ordnance, but none such now exist, nor are any seen in the Cowdray pictures, which, however, give full details about carriages, ammunition, etc.

Shot for the cannon at the Tower are mentioned in pretty large quantities, as well as gunpowder and its component parts.

Of the shot, two kinds, iron and stone, were at the Tower; but there were elsewhere many varieties of projectiles.[a]

The powder was of three qualities, namely, serpentyne, grosse corne, and fyne corne. The serpentyne powder, as its name implied, was used for ordnance. The fine-corn powder was used for priming, and for the small firearms.[b]

[a] In 1512, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to Robert Scorer for ten tons of iron shot. This rate of 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per ton would make the cost of the 475 iron shot purchased of George Brown in 1517, for the king's basiliscus (made by Humfrey Walker), about 2*s.* 6½*d.* a piece, supposing the gun to throw a 75 lb. shot. Fronsperger in 1566 says, that the rana or basiliscus threw a ball of that weight. In 1511, Richard Sackfeld, and in 1514 Richard Scorer, are mentioned as gunstone makers at a fee of 6*d.* per diem. In 1523, the Emperor sent hither by Henry's request a maker of cannon balls, reckoned the best in Spain.

In the same year among the charges at Calais is one to Henry Dyke, smith, for a "1000 of ieron dysye making, to be caste in ledde."

This may explain the frequent occurrence of an expression in the lists of stores at various forts and bulwerks.

Thus, at Hurst Castle are "quarter sling shotte of stone cast about w^t^ leade," also shot of the same sort for "bases." At St. Mawse "slinge shot of leade diced w^t^ stone and yron." At Calice, "shotte of stone covered w^t^ leade" for sacres and fawcons. At Guisnes "sacre shot of yrone covered w^t^ leade." At Wark Castle, "fawcon shot diced w^t^ yron;" also "shott for bases diced and undiced." At the castle of Stand in baye, there were "demyculveryn shotte of dice and leade;" and at Westilbery, "demycannon and fawconnet shot of brasse," occur.

From the above it is clear that compound shot were much used in Henry VIII.'s time, and the lead-covered projectile of Sir William Armstrong had been anticipated by more than 300 years.

Whether these dice were cubes or roughly trimmed blocks one cannot tell, but no doubt it had been found that the interior surfaces of the brass guns were soon damaged by the hard and imperfectly spherical shot of iron or stone. Fronsperger, in his work on military matters, does not mention these diced shot, but perhaps by 1566 the custom had died out. It is curious that Charles V. in 1535 complained that the cannon balls fired at his forces in Africa were stamped with a lily. This probably in France answered to the rose and crown in England, which we are told was stamped on selected bows. The rose and crown is seen on ordnance of this and Elizabeth's reign.

[b] In 1512, gunpowder at 3½*d.* per lb. and saltpetre at 4*d.* were bought from Francis di Errona, a Spaniard, from whom similar stores had been purchased in June, 1510. Gunpowder at 4*d.* was also got from Ric. Faulconer, who with Hans Wolf seem to have been makers in 1514.

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Copper in bullets and plate, and bell-metal, are also mentioned. This makes the brass shot noted above look less improbable than the costliness of the material would lead one to suppose.

To Henry VIII.'s aptitude in the exercise of various weapons may be added the study of artillery. History affords numerous instances of the interest he took in these matters, consequently we find notices of models of guns at the Tower and Greenwich. In 1518, when some large Venetian vessels visited England, Henry went to Southampton to inspect them; and though on the first day it was ordered that no guns should be fired, Giustiniani reports to the Doge that "next day the king chose to have all the guns fired again and again, marking their range, as he is very curious about matters of this kind."

At the Tower were little guns of brass mounted on carriages, and serving as patterns for demi-cannon and for culverines, also two small "gonne morters of brasse."

At Greenwich was another brass model for a gun, and a pattern for "a gynne to waie ordenance w^{h}all." The gun seems to have been there in 1542, when five other patterns for guns and "three devises of engines for the warres" are also noted. "A pece of brasell" (red wood) "to trye the length of greate peces," which also is noted in Harleian MS. 1419, shows the minuteness of these inventories, as does the entry of, at Calais, "small squirtes to kele ordenaunce litle worth."

The hand fire-arms mentioned in the inventory may be divided into two classes, those apparently for troops, and other specially rich or valuable arms. Of the first are the 6700 "demi-hakes or hand-gonnes" at the Tower, also the 275 "shorte gonnes for horsemen, w^{h} cases of lether furnyshed w^{h} hornes and purses." These last were what would now be carbines, and were match-locks with powder-horns and bullet-bags. Such weapons would the mounted yeomen of the guard carry. When Henry VII. instituted that corps we are told that half of them were armed with arquebuses, and to this day they wear a belt baldrick-

In 1519, gunpowder for 200*l.* was bought of Edmund Frende and Harmon Baghragh.

In 1525, Luke de la Arche and Geoffry Hewys were appointed gunners in the Tower, being bound to furnish the king on demand with gunpowder at seven marks the last. La Arche having in 1533 killed one Cooke, though pardoned, forfeited the gunnership, which was then given to Anthony de Naples and William Parker on the same terms, and in addition to renew old gunpowder, for 46*s.* 8*d.* the king supplying, "sulphur, saltpetre and cole."

In 1530, there was a purchase of twelve barrels of saltpetre at 4½*d.* the lb. from Thomas Aley. The barrel held about 118 lbs.

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wise, with the swivel or porte-musqueton. At Westminster were 380 "Italian peces, guilte, without chambers, furnished with flaskes and touche-boxes, &c., and 116 with chambers." This latter number sounds a large number for breech-loaders, but among the specially-noted arms are very many of these chambered arms. On fol. 431 we have "one Chamber pece in a Stocke of woode, lyned in the Cheke with vellet." This is a very interesting entry, as the weapon referred to is still in the Tower collection. Its identification with No. $\frac{1}{1}^{2}$ is certain, as the nails for fastening the velvet cheek-piece are still *in situ*, though the velvet has long since decayed.

The gun is a very finely-made one, and Mr. Latham's description of it is here given. "The loading chamber has a projecting piece above the touch-hole, to insure its corresponding with the pan of the match-lock, and is held in its place by a hinged door, which is sufficiently long to enable the chamber to be inserted and withdrawn. It is ornamented with the king's initials, H. R. and a rose crowned, and supported by two lions. These are on the fixed breech above the loading chamber, together with a *fleur-de-lys* and W. H., the armourer's mark and initials, and the date 1537. Not only the ornament, but the accuracy of workmanship of this weapon is very remarkable. The bore of the chamber is ·55, and of the barrel ·535, and the greatest variation from these measurements I have found is only sixteen thousandths of an inch."

We may add to Mr. Latham's description that the mechanism for closing the breech closely resembles that of the Snider rifle. There is also on the stock-head a brass scutcheon, on which may be traced a St. George and dragon, a favourite device of Henry VIII., very faintly engraved.

The barrel is 1 foot 11 inches long. In 1532 there is a payment to Asamus (Erasmus Kerkener), the king's armourer, "for trymming his grace's gun, 27*s.* 10*d.*"

The weapon has been figured in the *Archaeologia*,[a] and with more detail in Sir Sibbald Scott's *History of the British Army*.[b]

At Greenwich were 100 Italian matchlock pieces, and another 100 are noted as having been sent from there when the Protector Somerset went to Scotland.

Italy was apparently the chief fire-arm manufacturing country of the sixteenth century, and Brescia was especially famous for its guns, as indeed it was in the days of Evelyn, who, when there, bought a carbine of the famous Lorenzo Comminazo's work.

In 1544, Henry VIII., through his ambassador, asked the Doge of Venice to

[a] Vol. xxxi. plate xxi. fig. 1. [b] Vol. ii. pl. 25.

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allow his agent to purchase and export from Brescia 1500 harquebuses, of various sorts, as well as 1050 suits of armour for horse and foot. Permission was granted, and it is clear that the remark of the Venetian ambassador, Falier, in 1531, that the English were "beginning to use harquebuses and artillery" was hardly a fair statement of the condition of fire-arms in this country. As early as March 1511, there is a payment to Lewis and Alex de Fava of 200*l.* for 500 hakebusshes, *i.e.*, at eight shillings a-piece, and a like payment in November 1512. In 1512 Peter Corsy received nine shillings a-piece for 420 hand-guns with bottles, that is, flasks and moulds for each. In 1530, Cornelius Johnson, Henry's gunmaker and master smith, got five shillings a-piece for 100 hand-guns sent to Ireland.

About 1534, some great improvement in hand fire-arms was made, for Pepwell, writing in that year from St. Lucas, tells Henry that "arquebuses are now made here which give double the stroke of a hand-gun; many of them and of Morris-pikes are come hither from Biscay.[a]"

In this inventory, the term fire-lock may be taken to refer to the wheel-lock, which was in use largely, though not to the exclusion of the older match-lock. The Tower collection includes specimens of the wheel-lock dating from the middle of the sixteenth century up to the early eighteenth. As a lock for a weapon of war however the wheel-lock did not probably last for more than 150 years.

Of the more specially described fire-arms may be noticed at Westminster among the breech-loading or chamber-pieces, two handgonnes, five old harque-busiers, and three pieces, which, as well as the handgonnes, had fierlocks. There were also two double hakes, eight harquebuses, and another for haile shotte, "four litle hackebutts, and five Italion peces."

At Greenwich there were eleven chambered pieces with fire-locks, four others not chambered, but having fire-locks, and two with chambers but not fire-locks. "One longe crested pece with a square mouth," and its flask, etc., seems a strange

[a] In Feb. 1547, in fact on the day of Henry's funeral, Feb. 16, Lord Cobham writing to the Lord Protector mentions hagbutters who are to have 8*d.* per diem finding their own weapons and powder. He thinks "this increase of wages to them will not only be a great hindrance and a decay to the archery of the nation, since all men covet the highest pay, but will be a means, as they have found by experience, that the able and tall men who receive for other weapons only 6*d.* a day shall be greatly discouraged when they see such weak personages entertained for the harquebuse, as besides that weapon, are apt nor meet for any other service of war, and yet very few of them skilful and expert of that weapon."

The fire-arm, though destined even to supersede the bow altogether, did not for many years take the place of that weapon in the minds of the soldiers at least, for in 1551 Barbaro the Venetian ambassador reports, "on receiving notice of the enemy's approach, the whole camp raises the English cry of bows, bows."

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weapon. The word pistol does not occur in the inventory, but dagges and tackes do. These have been considered to be, both of them, different forms of a word for a pistol, but from certain points it would seem that the two terms referred to different weapons. The pistol came into use early in the century, at about the same time as the wheel-lock, the date of the invention of which has been given by various writers at about 1517. Mr. Pritchet formerly possessed a wheel-lock (now owned by Mr. Thurkle, and engraved in plate 30, vol. ii. of Sir Sibbald Scott's *History of the British Army*) with an armourer's mark, and the date 1509 on it. This date however seems rather doubtful, for the lock is one with a double feed, that is, having two pyrites holders. Such a lock was evidently an improvement on an earlier form of single feed, and was meant to meet the occasion of one stone having failed to act, when the second might be quickly placed in position.

No example of a match-lock pistol is, I believe, known, and the weapon is not one suited for that method of discharge, consequently it is natural to suppose that the wheel-lock which was well fitted for such a weapon gave rise to the weapon itself. Now in the inventory are seven tackes, two of them after the fashion of a dagger, and two hafted like a knife, and all, more or less, richly mounted. All of them have fire-locks, whereas the "one dagge with two peces," that is, two barrels, at Greenwich, and the twenty-seven "dagges with gonnes" at Westminster, are not mentioned as having fire-locks. From the above it seems probable that the dagges were weapons more resembling the little hackebutts mentioned above, while the tackes were the wheel-lock pistols of the sixteenth century, and of which there are several fine but later examples in the present Tower collection.

The long bows mentioned in the inventory are no more than 3060, with "13,050 sheife of livery arrowes." These were all at the Tower.

At Westminster there were ninety-eight "Turquy bowes of stele," but no arrows are mentioned.

At Westminster, also, were "twoo Longe Bowes of Ewghe to shote stones," and a "Quiver for Shaftes covered w^{t} blacke lether."

Of Crossbowes of "sondry making" there were seven, with four broken "wyndassis," and one "racke." There was also a crossbow to shoot stones and a quiver for "pricke arrowes for crosbowes.[a]"

[a] At Calais there were cross-bows called prodds, and also those called latches, with windlasses, and benders to bend small cross-bows. Quarrels are mentioned also, headed, and feathered with

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In Harleian MS. 1419, there are noted at Greenwich twenty-nine bows, besides fifty-two others, contained in three cases of leather and one of buckram. Also two others in velvet cases, one of which cases is embroidered with gold and the king's arms. Similarly ornamented quivers with shafts are also mentioned, as well as a case of "Yrishe arrowes." At Westminster there was a Turkey bow with its quiver and arrows, also a stone bow with a case. At Greenwich, were "twoo stone bowes of Ewe," with a leather bag with moulds for the stone bow, or rather for the pellets. These would be made of clay, like those used with the Gulail or Indian pellet-bow of to-day.

The bow, although for so many years the national weapon, had long before Henry VIII.'s time become so scarce in England as to require special legislation for its provision.

In 1436 Nicolas Hisham, merchant of York, had a license to sail to Prussia with four ships in quest of woods for spears and bows, there being a scarcity of such wood in England.

In 1472 all merchant strangers and others sending to England any merchandise in carrack, galley, or ship of the city or country of Venice, or any other city, town, or country from whence any such bowstaves have been before this time brought, were to send four bowstaves for every ton of merchandise imported.

A somewhat similar condition was in 1515 inserted in a license to Gerald earl of Kildare, by which all merchants going to Ireland were to take with them 13*s.* 4*d.* in long bows and 6*s.* 8*d.* in arrows. This was to remedy the scarcity of English long bows in Ireland where for want of them the king's subjects applied themselves to "Irish archery."[a]

In 1482 the dearness of bows in England necessitated a statute fixing the price for long bows of yew at no more than 3*s.* 4*d.* a piece.

Henry, very soon after coming to the throne, commenced the work of completing the stores of arms; and in 1510, part payments of a sum of 400*l.* were made to the bowyers of London for making 10,000 bows.

wood. According to Meyrick, the great arbalast was termed a latch, while the prodd was for shooting bullets.

As a sporting weapon, the use of the cross-bow was limited by statute to persons, or the servants of persons, of a certain income. At Guisnes cross-bows of steel were kept in store, and arrows and quarrels of wild fire are mentioned at many places.

[a] Gonzalo Fernandez writes to Charles V. in 1529, that the arms of the Earl of Desmond's men are small bows and swords.

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He also applied through Piero di ca Pesaro for leave for his agent to import from Venice 40,000 bows. Permission was granted for a part of this order, though it was stated to be contrary to the law. A payment in October to Anthony Baveryn of 762*l.* 15*s.* for bow-staves appears to relate to this purchase.[a]

Bows and arrows, especially the latter, required frequent inspection; and in 1510 there is payment to Walter Hyndy, Henry's fletcher, of 13*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* for searching of 15,000 sheaf of arrows within the house of ordnance in the Tower. In 1533, William Temple, the king's fletcher, is paid for 310 sheaves of new livery arrows, at 18*d.* per sheaf, "which came in when the French ambassadors came to the Tower for the sight of the king's ordnance;" and for "new knocking, new feathering, new heading, and new trimming 500 sheaves of old arrows which came from the wars when the duke of Suffolk was captain-general in France," at 9*d.* per sheaf. In 1535 Skeffyngton, writing from Ireland to Sir Edward Walsingham, mentions that at a recent fight, "the foot had their bowstrings wet, and most of the feathers fallen off the arrows on account of the rain."

In 1522 arrow feathers are mentioned at 21*d.* for 1400.

Henry, as is well known, shot often with the long bow. In 1513 it is mentioned in Taylor's Diary that "The king, who was (at Calais) practising archery in a garden with the archers of his guard, cleft the mark in the middle, and surpassed them all, as he surpasses them in stature and personal graces." In the accounts of 1531 are many notices of his shooting in matches, which he did not

[a] In December there is another payment of 21*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the bowyers of London for 1000 bows made in the Tower. In 1511 there is a payment to the bowyers of London for fourteen bows at 8*d.* each, and in 1513, Thomas Pykeman, the king's bowmaker, supplies for his use eight bows for 53*s.* 4*d.* In 1512, Henry purchased bowstaves from Anthony Bavaryn and Laurence Bouvix of Lucca. In 1512, Walter Hyndy supplies 100 sheaves of arrows with cases and girdles at 5*s.* each. These were for the king's guard, and in 1517, leather cases for arrows and girdles for the same are supplied for 104 men at 12*d.* each, while in 1529, the charge of William Temple, the king's fletcher, for the arrows, cases, and girdles, mounts to 5*s.* 3*d.* and 5*s.* 4*d.* the set. In 1518, the bows for the guard cost 3*s.* 4*d.* each, and the arrows and furniture, 5*s.* 4*d.* In 1525, occurs a payment for 758 bows at 7*d.* each. A petition of the bowyers of London in 1572, when bows were 40*s.* per 100, mentions that the price of bows had within 40 years been raised to 6*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* the 100 (about 15½*d.* each), which the petitioners observe was "the price given by Henry VIII. for those selected for his service and made in the Tower, but not good; so he sent two men of science into the country where they grow, who chose 10,000, which were marked with the rose and crown, and were the goodliest ever brought into England." Hen. Pykeman and Hen. Suthworth were bowmakers in the Tower, 1526. In 1525, 120 cases for 120 sheaves of arrows with girdles were purchased for 5*l.*, *i. e.* 10*d.* each.

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always win, and in which he bet 6*s.* 8*d.* on each shot, and sometimes as much as three angels.[a]

Among the royal jewels is mentioned a leather bracer painted, with gold buckles and pendants. Guilliam Bagot, in 1529, furnishes bows, arrows, and other tackle for "My Lord of Richmond;" and in 1530 one Scawseby similarly supplies Lady Anne (Boleyn). The king also amused himself with the stone bow; and in 1531 and 1532 Guilliam Bagot, the king's fletcher, is paid for supplying pellets for the stone bow at 26*s.* 8*d.* for 8000, or 4*d.* a hundred. In 1532 Henry is mentioned as killing two stags at Hunsdon with the cross-bow. Fitzwilliam, in 1521, writes to him from Dijon (?), "You will have the cross-bows shortly." Francis I. in 1527, sent him some of these weapons as a present.

An important companion to the archer's bow was the stake. This protection for the archer from the enemy's horse had been in use from the days of Henry V., but in Henry VIII.'s time it seems to have been something more than the sharpened stake of the fifteenth century.

In 1519 Giustiniani mentions that each archer had "two stakes, one before and one behind, with which they make their pallisadoes or stockade."

Among the stores, etc. of the Henry Grace Dieu, in 1521, were "6 dozen fyldstakes"; and among the stores at Calais, fol. 298, are "Stakes for archers vii^{ml}."[b]

The firearms available for the use of troops may be taken as about 7700 in the three stores. If to these be added the staff weapons, such as bills, morris-pikes, halberds, partisans, fork-heads, rawcons, poleaxes, javelins, three-grayned staves, boar-spears, darts, holy-water sprincles, spears, northern staves, demi-lances, collin cleves, axes, maces, horsemen's hammers, and the long bows of yew and Turkey bows of steel, of any of which weapons no man would carry more than one, we find a total of some 44,500 arms.

[a] Among the royal servants, we find the two Pykeman's, father and son, as king's bowmakers in 1527; Buckstede, William Langwile, and William Temple, king's fletchers, and Henry Byrde, yeoman of the king's bows in 1528; John Wauryn, bowyer, and John Laake, arrow-head maker, in the same year; William Long, arrow-head maker at 4*d.* per diem in 1530, George Fownset, king's bowstring maker in 1533, and many others. Piers is mentioned as crossbow maker in 1519, and Gyllame (Bagot) the same in 1525.

[b] In 1529, there is a payment to Richard Rowley, blacksmith, for 2500 sockets, rings, and staples of iron to garnish archers' stakes, and 5000 archers (stakes) ready garnished with heads, sockets, rings and staples, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The Venetian ambassador, Falier, in 1531, says, the archers "have a two-pronged iron stake to resist a charge from the enemy's horse."

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These do not include the weapons which, on account of their rich mounting or special value, are more minutely noted in the inventory.

Henry VIII. had thus at his immediate command the means of arming what was in those days a very considerable force, and one capable of meeting any sudden emergency. Though such a necessity never arose during his reign, the prestige and power which such stores gave him in the eyes of foreigners had its value. Giustiniani notes that for some days after Evil May-day, 1517, the king had 4000 to 5000 men in armour in the city.

The bill, as might be expected, figures in large numbers in this inventory, no less than 6700 being stored in the Tower, and many in other places. At the Tower are also noted some few "Almyne" or German bills, the former being called "blakke billes." Forest bills,[a] with black staves and white staves, also occur, and "hedging bills like moll spades, staves of ashe." "Two forest billes, parcell guilte, and trymmed w^h^ golde," as also "billes ptely guilte, with longe staves of brassels," *i.e.* red or painted of that colour, were doubtless for the king's use, or for ceremonial. At Guisnes there were "feighting billes." In one of the letters describing the victory of Flodden it is mentioned that "the bills disappointed the Scots of their long spears, on which they relied." The length of the bill in 1551 does not appear to have made it less efficient than the long spear, for Barbaw, the Venetian ambassador, describes the English billmen as carrying "a short, thick staff (*asta*), with an iron like a peasant's hedging-bill, but much thicker and heavier than what is used in the Venetian territories; with this they strike so heavily as to unhorse the cavalry, and it is made short because they like close quarters."

If we are to determine by numbers, what was the national weapon in Henry VIII.'s reign, then the bill so often mentioned as the foot-soldier's weapon, and associated on so many battle-fields with the English bow, must yield to the Morris pike, of which arm there were 20,100 at the Tower.

The Morris or Moorish pike first appears a little before this reign, and owes its origin to Spain, though whether to the Moors themselves or their conquerors it is difficult to tell. Its shape and size is also uncertain, nor do we find any description of the points in which it differed from other foot-soldiers' pikes. Besides the large quantity mentioned at the Tower will be noticed many garnished

[a] In 1525, in a pardon for murder, a forest bill of the value of 10*d.* is mentioned; and in 1533 there is a payment to Thomas Jaxon of London, joiner, for helving and trimming 6000 of the king's black fighting bills at 1*d.* each, and for 4000 "bylle helves of asshe" at 6*s.* 8*d.* per 100; also 6000 nails called broods for that work at 2*s.* 6*d.* the 1000.

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with velvet and with the heads partly gilt. Also heads with Damascene work on them.

One hundred and eighty-one Morris pikes appear among the "tacle," etc. of the Henry Grace Dieu in 1521.

In 1515 Nicholas Lagudino, the Venetian Ambassador, writes to Al Foscari that he had seen "His Majesty's (Henry VIII.) guard, all handsome men with halberds, never saw finer fellows."

It seems probable that what the Venetian called halberds are in this inventory noted under partesans, for though in the Tower there were 306 halberds and 52 halberd-heads, partly gilt, with some 29 others "gilte and garnyshed w^{h} crymsen velvet" on the staves, yet these numbers give one no idea of a guard such as Henry had about his person, not so much for protection as for show. Besides, the cost of these weapons does not accord with the magnificence which was so prominent at his court. In 1518 there is a payment of 48*s.* for halberds for the guard, and again in 1530 "hawberds" at 4*s.* each were purchased.

Under the head of partesans, however, we find large numbers of party gilt and richly garnished weapons, some with velvet and fringe, either blue, crimson, or green and white, the Tudor colours. Over one thousand such weapons are noted, and two are described as being "party gilte w^{t} the king's armes graven uppon them garnysshed w^{t} grene pasements and fringed w^{t} grene and white silke."

At Greenwich were two "ptissaunts pcell guilte with square points," and another with "a white stocke pcell guilte."

Another weapon, evidently for state ceremonials only, was the pole-axe, of which there were at Westminster 117 "paerted (*sic*) w^{t} cremysyne velvet and 21 others w^{t} staves covered w^{t} crymesen velvet and fringed w^{t} diaper fring, and a narrowe fring of venys gold and crymesen silke."

Another, from its description, might have been carried by Henry himself, for it had "the hedde party gilte, the hamer hedde having iij pickes, w^{t}in the same a rose gilte, the staffe garnyshed w^{t} cremsyn velved and fringed w^{t} redde silke."

A "forke hedde graven and guilte" at Greenwich may have been a state weapon, but the description is too meagre to assign it to any particular use.

Rawcons, probably the ranseurs of so many collections, are also mentioned; some fifty-six with staves covered with velvet and fringed, and twenty-three heads party gilt, were at Westminster.

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Of javelins[a] some 2000 are noted, but of these only 480 were ordinary ones, the others being described as having party gilt heads, or with staves trimmed with velvet or other rich stuffs, such weapons in fact as would be carried by guards at court. Some 150 of these were unmounted. Many javelins are mentioned with broad heads, and in some cases the staves are of brassel or red-coloured wood, in others of ash.

There is another weapon mentioned, the nature of which it is difficult to determine, that is the "three grayned stave." At first one would be inclined to put it in the spear class, but the description of it as "trymmed w^{t} crymsyn velvet," of which there are 188 and 25 others similarly mounted, but with "partlie gilt" heads, besides 66 unmounted "heddes partie gilte," makes it pretty certain they were some variety of the partisan or halbert and used for ceremonial. The name has not been met with in any other inventory, and may have been a local one for some weapon in common use.[b]

In these days it is not easy in all cases to distinguish between the partesan, the javelin, and the boar-spear. The javelin, as its name implies (*jabalî*, a wild boar), was really a boar-spear, but Hewitt and other writers have suggested that the latter term was also applied to a military weapon of the same form, and from the number mentioned in the inventory, and the fact that the wild boar, though to this day existing on the continent, was not among the wild animals of this country, or at least of the southern counties, in Henry's time, one must admit that it seems to be here a weapon if not for war at least for parade.

[a] The term javelin is generally applied to a light spear, sometimes to such a one as was hurled like a dart; but though in this inventory the weapons so named might be of this kind, we must remember that the term is used in the ordinances for the royal body guard in 1509, as alternative with demi-lance, "each custrel to have his javelin or demi lance." In 1520, there is a payment of 91*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to Sir William Skevyngton for gilt halberds and javelins for the guard, and in 1527 javelyn staves were bought in Gracyus Street at 3*s.* per dozen; 136 javelins occur among the arms, &c. of the ship Henry Grace Dieu in 1521.

In 1525, 4*l.* was paid for 20 gilt javelins with leather cases, and 54*s.* 10*d.* for 47 others. The leather cases would be for the heads only, as may be seen in the case of modern Japanese weapons. Guyot[1] de Heulle sending to Henry VIII. in 1517 an abalettre (? an arquebuse) and four javelins, remarks, "they are not made here (Brussels) but are got from Italy."

At Greenwich there was "a greate javelynge guilte." (*Harl. MS.* 1419.)

[b] Grayne is used in the country for the tine or prong of a fish-spear. This then would be a kind of trident.

[1] Was this the "Guyot an Almain," with whom Hall mentions Henry VIII. as fighting at Greenwich in Oct. 1510 with the battle-axe?

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The chief distinction between the boar-spear and other spears seems to have been its broad head and the cross-bar, or, in some cases, the transverse wooden toggle just below the head. In some cases this wooden toggle was fastened by a leather thong, as in an example in the museum at Brussels; in others, as in a later example in the Tower, there is a small bar of iron connected with the spear-head by a ring and staple.

The wooden toggle is seen in the bear-hunters' parade, in pl. 14 of Burghmaier's *Triumph of Maximilian.* The object of the bar was to prevent the spear entering too deeply. That such a precaution was necessary, is shown by the addition after 1745 of a cross-bar to the officers' spontoon or half-pike; Lord R. Kerr having at Culloden thrust his weapon so far into a Highlander that, being unable to withdraw it for his defence, he was killed.

There are frequent notices in Henry's reign of the sport of wild-boar hunting in France.[a]

The "Bore-speres" mentioned in this inventory are some 550, of which 291 with "asshen staves trymed w^{t} crymesyn velvet and fringed w^{t} redde silke," 162 knotted and leathered, and 97 with "asshen staves trymed w^{t} lether." Two others are "graven and gilt," and of six unmounted heads two also are thus ornamented. At Greenwich there was also "a bore spere-hedde of morisco worke" (*Harl. MS.* 1419). The knotting and leathering was to afford a firm grip of the weapon,[b] and many of the seventeenth century pikes now in the Tower still retain the leather "armin," as it was called.

Closely allied by form to the javelin is the dart, and this probably differed only in point of size. "Dart heddes, partie gilt," are mentioned in the inventory. "Topp dartes, 5 doss," are noted also, and these would be for use on ship-board. In the beautiful MS. Life of the Earl of Warwick,[c] *circa* 1485, there is a picture of a naval engagement, in which men in the tops are casting darts on their opponents below. Hall, in his account of the action near Brest, 4th of Henry VIII. gives the following description of the preparation on board ship for fighting: "Then every man prepared according to his duetie, the archers to shote, the

[a] 1514, Nov. 9. The Marquis of Dorset to Wolsey. At a boar-hunt, "My Lord of Suffolk met the first and gave him the first stroke with the tokke, that he bowed it three ways of his hand, and slew him. And he (Dorset) struck the second with a boar-spear, that he continued not long after."

[b] At the siege of Brescia in 1512 when preparing for the assault, "every man took out his knife and whittled his spear-handle to prevent its slipping."

[c] Cott. MS. Julius E 4.

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gunners to lose, the men of armes to fight, the pages went to the toppe castle with dartes."

In 1529 Erasmus writes to Cochloeus, that Henry VIII. "had such natural dexterity, that in the ordinary accomplishments of riding and throwing the dart he outstripped every one." Dart throwing was probably introduced from the Spanish court, where the mounted exercises and games with Moorish darts were extremely popular.

In 1532 Charles V.'s ambassador, Chapuis, in a letter to him, mentions that the Lady Anne Boleyn had presented Henry with certain darts of Biscayan fashion, richly ornamented.[a]

Under the head of holy water sprinkles are varieties as "Greate, Little, w^{t} gunnes in th'ende, and one with thre gunnes in the topp." This last is supposed to be the weapon that for many years has been shown at the Tower as Henry VIII.'s walking staff. It is a club with three short barrels and spikes arranged between them. The muzzles of the barrels may be closed by three leaves pivotting on the neck of a long spike at the head of the staff.

Of the other weapons we have an interesting contemporaneous account in the report of the Venetian ambassador Nicolo di Favri, in 1513. After speaking of the various arms used by the English forces, he says, "6000 halbardiers and 12,000 with a weapon never seen until now, six feet in length, surmounted by a ball with six steel spikes."

Michiel, Venetian ambassador in 1557, also specially refers to these weapons as "certain long poles of the height of a man, thick and armed with certain iron spikes at the head, three inches in length, issuing from all parts; which are very perilous weapons, calculated to smash and break the hardest substances." It has generally been considered that the holywater sprinkle, like the morning star, was a Swiss weapon; but the Venetian ambassadors would hardly have mentioned

[a] Among the stores at Calais are mentioned 100 dartes for Irishmen croked (barbed). These would be for the Irish troops who were used at the siege of Boulogne, and of whom there is an interesting representation in the engraving of the picture of that siege formerly existing at Cowdray House. The Irish contingent is shown arriving with a "prey of cattle" and preceded by their bag-piper. Each of the men carries two darts in his hand, and is clad in a long shirt with his legs bare. The late Sir Sibbald Scott supposed it to be a picture of Scottish troops on account of the bag-piper, but the darts and costume of the men, together with the fact that Irish troops and not Scottish were at the siege, upsets that idea, and in Derrick's *Image of Ireland* in Elizabeth's reign the bag-piper is shown in the same prominent position. Among the arms, etc. of the Henry Grace Dieu in 1521 are enumerated twelve dozen casting darts.

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them as novelties had they been in use among the Swiss before this date. The name is, of course, an old joke; for the term appears in the doubtful *Tale of Gamelyn* ascribed to Chaucer.

The holywater sprinkles now in the Tower collection (not including the composite weapons mentioned above) are plain wooden staves about six feet in length, with a wooden ball at the end about four inches in diameter. In this ball are stuck in four circles some sixteen square spikes, projecting about one and a-half inch from the ball. There is also a spike some six or seven inches long at the top. They would doubtless be powerful weapons, but hardly as effective as the morning stars and military flails, both of which weapons would however require the men using them to be in very open order.

Though in an inventory of weapons of this date one would expect to find the spear prominently placed and representing the horse troops as the bill and pike do the infantry, such is not at all the case, the arm under the name of spear only occurring in one place where "vi spere heddes, iij percell guilte" are noted. Even under the varieties of name in which the weapon does occur the numbers are very small, when we consider that in 1513, when the English army was passing over to France for their short but successful campaign, Nicolo di Favri, the Venetian ambassador, wrote that the English army consisted of 10,000 men at arms on horseback, Burgundians, Picards, or others, and 10,000 English cavalry, the greater part light horse, and the rest heavy and barbed, 12,000 English archers discharging arrows like darts, 6000 halbardiers, and 12,000 with the holy water sprincles. For the royal body guard, besides the cavalry, there are the king's own 1000 men of the crown, in most excellent array." Bavarin puts the cavalry at 9000 to 10,000 heavy barbed cavalry, and 8000 light horse, besides 2000 mounted bowmen. The arms in the Tower and Westminster inventories, which may be safely assigned to cavalry, do not number more than 1000. Of these 120 are described as demi-lances. They were light spears carried by the demi-lancers, the modified man at arms of the sixteenth century, when mobility had come to be reckoned as an important factor in the value of armed forces. 600 are called Northern staves, and were doubtless such lances as the marchers and border horsemen found useful for the end of a successful fight, like the "chasing staves" in the store at Calais, where they are mentioned on the same folio.[a]

[a] In 1553, a chasing staff appears among other weapons as part of the armament of the champion at the coronation. Most of the notices of cost, etc. of spears to be found in the Calendars of the State Papers refer to those used in the tilt-yard, but there are occasionally items connected

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At fol. 429[b] are mentioned "8 Colin cleves painted and guilte thone having a rounde plate at thande of silver and guilte graven w[t] sheff arrowes,[a] foure of them lackinge heddes; also two Colin cleves white."

The weapon here meant does not often occur under this name, but we have an excellent definition of what a Collen cleve was, in a letter some four years later from the Council to Sir Richard Morysine, February, 1551.

They say "in his last letter he mentioned he would speak to M. d'Arras for licence to have Collen cleves, lint, and certain lasts of powder, according to a minute which they had sent to him. Although the terms of the same be strange and unknown, as they must be to him who have not haunted the wars neither is a master of ordnance as his predecessor (Sir Philip Hoby) was. The Collen cleve

with the war spear, for fuller details of which one must look under the names of Collen cliffs, Northern staves, etc.

In 1546, John Crochet, the king's armourer, and William Hayward, the king's joiner, receive 35*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* for spears, spear-heads, burres nails, workmanship, carriage, &c.

In 1519, Hayward receives for 206 spears, burres, hydes, nails, &c. 24*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

In 1520, the charge for making, garnishing, and burring with leather 800 spears was only 39*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* John Crochet also supplied spears for the jousts at Greenwich to the amount of 25*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

In the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, 2000 mornes of steel glazed were supplied at 10*d.* each. These were the spear-heads for the jousts. Counter roundels at 10*d.* and filed burres (evidently metal ones) at 16*d.* were also purchased to the number of 2000, 1000 vamplets of Isebrok, that is of Innspruck steel, at 5*s.* each, with further charges of 10*d.* each for grinding and glazing, and 6*d.* for garnishing and lining also occur.

In 1521 we have the war-spear for service in Ireland, and making, righting, heading, and burring 200, and seasoning and making 500 more cost 42*l.* 18*s.*

In 1530, there is a charge of 4*d.* each for 200 spear-heads of steel. Hentzner in 1598 mentions "Lancea Caroli Branden Suffolcice quae tres spithamos crassa erat;" and in 1660, the Tower inventory mentions, "Great lances, whereof two are said to be King Henry the VIII. and one Charles Brandons, Duke of Suffolkes." A large fluted lance is still shown under the latter title, No. ‡.

Caesar Feramosci, writing to Henry VIII. in 1523, tells him that the emperor sends him with other things four large Neapolitan lances and two Spanish ones, which he judged would suit him. Philip de Comines mentions the bourdonasses or large hollow lances met with in the wars in Italy, and such may these have been. Hall also in his account of the tournaments, &c. at Paris on Nov. 7, in 6th of Henry VIII. says, "The Countie Galeas came into the place on a jennet trapped in blewe sattin, and he himselfe lykewise apparelled and rā a corse with a spere which was at the hed v ynches on every side square, that is xx ynches about and at the but ix ynches square that is xxxvi. ynches. This spere was tymber and yet for al that he ran cleane with it a long course and slighteley avoided to his great honor."

[a] Ferdinand of Arragon used a sheaf of arrows as a badge.

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is a staff commonly bought at the city of Cologne, whereof the lance or staff is made that a man of arms runneth withal, and if he yet doubts, then be they that the Latin men call hastæ puræ." Some change in the form of these appears to have been made about this period, for in 1549 in a minute of the Council to William Dansell they say, speaking of certain Collen cleves written for, for demi-lances, "Those which be of the old form will do no man service, no man here will wear them, and therefore it shall be but loss to send them."[a]

The poll-axe may be considered as a staff weapon, but the hand-axe and battle-axe belong to the class of which the mace and horseman's hammer are important subdivisions.

Of hand-axes there were at Westminster two heads unmounted, and 100 weapons described as "shorte pollaxes playne, as well as three two-hand pol-axes,[b]" belong to this sub-division.

Of "faier Battell-axes partely guilte with tassils of silke, thone havinge a tassell and Lace of Venyce golde," there were five.

The maces, eighteen in number, varied in richness, "11 being guilte and faier wrought, 1 plain, 3 at Greenwich guilte and graven, or blacke vernysshed and p̃cell guilte, 2 wrought Anticke after the silver fashion, and 2 p̃cell silvered and guilte."

The horseman's hammer, which is supposed generally to have consisted of a hammer and a sharp point, and was used against armour both for smashing and rending, in this inventory appears in fourteen instances as combined with an axe, and in eight others as combined with "gonnes." Of the examples of such combined weapons now in the Tower is an axe, which, besides a "gonne" in the handle, has five small ones in the axe-head, the edge of which moves on a hinge to allow of the barrels being discharged. It is numbered $\frac{14}{11}$. At Greenwich the Harleian MS. 1419, mentions "a horseman's mace of stele guilte, in a case of grene velvet garnished w^{t} passemayne lace of golde," also "an axe of steele beinge a hammer also and pinson."

[a] In 1553 and 1554, their price appears to have been 18*d.* and 20*d.* though before that time eight groats had been paid; and in 1521, Henry VIII. paid John Gilkirke, factor to Sir Harmon King, for 2030 great Colen clyfts to make spears, at 10*l.* the hundred of six score, or 1*s.* 8*d.* each. At fol. 432^{b} are noted 130 Colyn cleves with stele heddes.

[b] These were probably such axes as were used in combats in the lists, for which see the *Life of Jacques de Lalain*, etc. Nos. $\frac{7}{8\,11}$ $\frac{7}{8\,12}$ in the Tower are good specimens.

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Hall mentions Henry carrying an axe when on his campaign in France in 1513.[a]

The swords in this inventory are few in number though interesting in their variety.

At Westminster there were 302 "armynge swordes of flaunders makynge." These would be such as the guards would carry, and were probably purchased abroad as being cheaper than the home-made article.

Of the other fifty swords thirteen more are described as arming or common, with velvet scabbards, and in some instances velvet belts.

Three "slaghe swordes" are noted, one of which had three guns at the handle and cross. These were large two-handed swords, intended as their name (from the German *schlagen*) intimates for striking with the edge. Such swords were, according to Hall, carried by the whiffelars, "to keep the people in array" on the occasion of public ceremonies. So we have "which, like a mighty whiffler 'fore the king, seems to prepare his way."[b]

Two "three-edged tockes w[t] vellet skaberds" were the stiff swords used in the foot-combats of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and held in both hands, were employed only for thrusting as a pike, but at much closer quarters.

Next we have seventeen swords with black or white velvet scabbards, of various degrees of richness, some with the grips bound with white wire, some with white thread; and hilts, some gilt, some silvered, some "engraven with waters," that is, acids.

Four "skaynes," the skeans of Scotland and Ireland, are noted, all richly mounted, and three of them with knives or bodkins to them, as often shown in monumental brasses, in drawings, and in the modern Highland dirk and the East Indian Ghoorka "kukri."

One silver-garnished "hanger" gives us an early example of the name as applied to a short sword.[c]

[a] Besides the staff weapons mentioned in the inventories here selected are others such as Flemish halberts and Welsh glaives in the store at Calais. In the inventory these last are written "Walche gloves," but a note of the stores at Calais in 1536 in the Record Office gives what is probably the proper reading. Whether this was the "Welsh hook" mentioned in Shakespeare, I. Hen. IV. ii., 4, or a corruption of the German Walisch-Italian, and some weapon of the glaive class, is not quite clear.

There are also in Harl. MS. 1419, among the weapons at Greenwich, "Three staves, every of them having a picke with two graynes, at the neyther end a wyrral (? ferule) of iron tynned." Whether these were weapons, or if so what, it is impossible to say.

[b] Henry V. act v. prol. In 1513, in the vanguard commanded by the Earl of Shrewsbury, were three whifellers, three taboryners, and three trumpets. In this case the word means a fifer.

[c] See *The Reliquary*, N.S., vol. i. p. 4.

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The two wood-knives or couteaux de chasse poorly represent the number of these hunting weapons which Henry possessed, for they figure often among the presents made to him by his courtiers and servants. Henry was a mighty hunter, and it will be remembered that his courtship of Anne Boleyn, as shown in his love-letters to that lady, was often seasoned with presents of game killed by her royal lover's own hands.

Pace, writing to Wolsey in 1520 from Windsor, says, "the king rises daily, except on holy days, at four or five o'clock, and hunts till nine or ten at night. He spares no pains to convert the sport of hunting into a martyrdom."

"vi. bore-spere swordes w^t^ lether skaberdes" point to Henry's pursuit of sport while abroad, for it is not probable that the boar in a wild state existed in England even so recently as this reign.

These boar-spear swords were made with a point like a spear, with a small bar of steel fixed transversely in the blade, about six inches from the extreme point, and just below the broadened end. No examples remain at the Tower, but at Windsor Castle is a good specimen. It has the grip covered with cuir-bouilly, tooled with a small pattern. The cross-bar has been lost, but the hole in the blade shows where it was placed. The reason for this bar was the same as for that of the boar-spear, and in the *Triumph of Maximilian* by Burghmaier hunters are shown carrying both weapons.

In the Tower Inventories of 1611 and 1629 these "bore-spere swordes" appear as "tuckes for the wild bore."

In Harleian MS. 1419, "a Woodkniffe, beinge a Sawe," is mentioned as among the "Stuffe and implements" at Greenwich.[a]

In 1521 "a wodeknyf," of the value of 26*s.* 8*d.*, is mentioned in a pardon to John Syer for burglary.

[a] Among the New Year's gifts to Henry in 1532, are mentioned wood-knives given by Sir John Nevyle and Thomas Warde, and swords from Lord Awdeley, Rawlyns, and Sir Edward Seymour. The last-named gave a sword with "the hilts gilt with kalendars upon it." This was probably a couteau de chasse, similar to one now at Vienna, on which the date, 1530, the names of Charles V. and Ambros Gemlick de Monaco are engraved, together with a calendar for that year, the Sundays and festivals being in golden characters. A much later example of the year 1686 is now in the Tower collection No. $\frac{18}{18}$. In 1532, the New Year's gifts also include a wood-knife from the Duke of Norfolk, and "2 hyngers (hangers) gilt with velvet girdles" from Lord Rocheford.

Among other presents of swords to Henry may be noted an Eastern scimetar from his friend and admirer the Marquis of Mantua, who so often presented him with valuable horses, and in the same year 1514 the cap and sword sent by the pope, and received with much state. This sword is only described as having the hilts and scabberd gilt and being a long one. Among the regalia of

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Henry, who was master of most weapons, much delighted in the exercise with the two-handed sword, in which his size and strength were important considerations. In 1510, Luis Caroz de Villaragut, writing to Ferdinand, mentions these combats (in which each of the fighters dealt twelve strokes) among the other amusements of the lusty young king; and even in 1535 Chapuis reports to Charles V. some midnight adventure of Henry, who had gone off with a two-handed sword, walking ten miles to a house "where he could see everything."

The dagger nowhere occurs in the 1547 inventory, so far as the Brander MS. goes, but in Harleian MS. 1419 several are mentioned as being at Greenwich. Of these seven were all gilt, three white, five black, one with the haft enamelled

James I. in the Secret Jewel House in the Tower:—Item, one greate twoe handed sworde garnyshed wth syluer and guylte presented to king Henry the VIII. "by the pope."

In 1510, among the accounts for the revels, there is a payment to Marryn cutler for two Turkey knives at 13*s.* 4*d.* each. to be worn at the mummery. In 1512 46*l.* was paid to Thomas Stodarde for swords.

The Marquis Casmyris of Brandenbourg in 1515 sent Henry a sword and dagger, and Sir Richard Wingfield in referring to the gift mentions a "stokke" (tuck or estoc) which he was about to send on also. From the context it is evident that Wingfield had been commissioned by Henry to obtain weapons, just as Jerningham and others had been sent into Italy for armour, &c.

In 1520 large purchases of weapons were made for the tournaments and other sports which formed an important feature of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and the conditions of the combats were discussed before hand. In a memorial touching these events, we find "according to Francis's opinion, which always he referreth to yours, with the more nimble sword, more strokes shall be delivered, and more gorgeously than with the pesaunt sword." Francis also thinks that "at the barriers the heavy swords shall be much better to be occupied. The two-handed sword is left out, as it seems a dangerous weapon, and few gauntlets would stand the heavy strokes to which they would be exposed." The above is a severe criticism on the armour of the day, and Francis may have thought that a combat with large swords would be too much in Henry's favour.

Among the purchases are 1000 myllen (Milan) swords for the tourney at 4*s.* each, 600 two-handed swords at 7*s.* 6*d.* each, 100 heavy swords for the tourney on horseback, with tangs of massy steel, with two bands, at 10*s.* each, including cutting them shorter, new binding and scaling them. Also glazing, new binding, and scaling 600 two-handed swords at 12*d.* each, and 400 heavy swords at 4*d.* each. Shortening 500 swords with new pomels and crosses at 10*d.* each. Swords with scabbards at 2*s.* 8*d.* each. On this occasion Rauffe Braund and Richard Pelland, armourers, were sent into Flanders and Germany for arms and armour.

Marion, the king's bladesmith, appears to have received 20*s.* per annum for keeping the king's swords, and a sword of his make occurs among the goods of Thomas Cromwell in 1527.

At Greenwich, also in Harleian MS. 1419, we have an early mention of one class of swords. The entry is "ij rapiers w^{t} guilte hiltes th'one skaberde of white velvet th'other blacke velvet."

The date of the first notice of this weapon is as undecided as the etymology of the name, but the word does occur as early as 1520 in the accounts of the expenses of Sir Edward Guildford.

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blue, two with chains to hang them by, one plated, one with the haft "silver wier garnished w^t^ silver enameled," and another with the "hafte of mother of perle garnished w^t^ mettall;" in all twenty-one. None of these can be identified with the seventeen daggers and two knives mentioned in the 1542 inventory as being then at Greenwich, at which time among the swords occur "two holmessis, th'afts garnished with black vellet, and frenged with grene and white silke, with skabers of blac lether." Was holmessis a form of *holzmesser* = a wood-knife? They are also mentioned in the 1547 inventory among the stores at Calais.

The word shield does not occur in the inventory; but of targets, round and long, and bucklers, there are some 850. These consist of many varieties, as regards material, richness, and use. Thus there were at the Tower eighty round targets with "gonnes" in them, and of these thirty-seven are mentioned as "steiled." Several of these pistol targets remain at the Tower, and each consists of a round target with a pistol barrel projecting from the boss, with a breech-loading arrangement inside the target, and a small grating, through which the bearer might watch his opponent. It is fired by a match, in a holder fixed inside the target and worked by the right hand. The breech-loading is ingenious: an iron cover, coming down over, and retaining in position the chamber, which is of the size of a modern sporting cartridge. The use of a match for a pistol is, too, an exception to the rule.

From a note of another of these targets in the "Guarderobe of the Towre,"[h] Harleian MS. 1419, it appears it was fringed with green silk and lined with green velvet.

Beside the "targets steilde w^t^ gonnes," there were some sixty others of steel, or "steeld," most of them lined with velvet, the others with cloth. Also "300 blacke stele targetts made of olde harnesse by the said Hanse" (Hunter).

The other targets (presumably of wood) are described as more or less richly painted and gilt, some fringed, some lined with velvet, others with cloth; fifty-six of these gilt and painted with "sondry antiques."[a]

Some others are mentioned as covered with "tawny ledder," "blacke ledder," "buffe ledder," or "ledder gilte."

[a] In the guardrobe of the Tower were three other targets, and at Greenwich five, "of which two paynted w^t^ the kinge's armes." (Harleian MS. 1419.) In 1521 seventeen dozen long targets and —round targets are among the arms of the Henry Grace Dieu. In the same year, among the New Year's gifts to the king, are two long and two round targets presented by Vincent Woullf. By the term shield are doubtless meant targets in the notes of the royal jewels in 1528 and 1530, when "a shield of berall" and three shields with the salutation, a pillar and an oak, as well as three gold targets, are mentioned.

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The above were at Westminster, and at Greenwich were two steel round targets and two long targets.

The "tergett of the shell of a tortys" at Westminster can hardly be considered as anything but a curiosity.

Of bucklers there were but two, but they were of steel.

The target both of the long and the round form was a part of the equipment of many of the troops of the day. It is seen in the interesting figures of soldiers in Cottonian MS. Aug. iii. fol. 9, and in the engravings published by the Society of the pictures formerly at Cowdray House, in which almost all the military weapons, etc. mentioned in the inventory may be found. As a defence, it was continued far into the century, for in the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney, published in 1586, by Thomas Lant, we have representations of targeters carrying fringed targets of round or oval form.

Richly-engraved and embossed targets were carried by, or for commanders, aud the artist lavished all his skill on the ornamentation of this portion of the panoply, as may be seen in many well-known examples in foreign collections.

Among the royal jewels in 1528 was "a tergat of the Passion, with Our Lady and St. George on foot."

In the gallant but disastrous attack by the lord admiral Sir Edward Howard on the French fleet near Brest, in May 1513, when that nobleman lost his life, the circumstances of his death were chiefly confirmed by the account given of the casting into the sea of one who bore a gilt target on his arm, and was left on board the French ship when the English vessel accidentally was cast loose, and drifted away. As will be instanced of the buckler, so the English target was of sufficiently good repute to be considered a fit present among sovereigns; and in an inventory of arms at Augsburg, in 1519, is mentioned a roundel garnished with black and white bone, party gilt, and fringed with black samite, a present to Maximilian from the king of England.

In 1529 one Peter Lovet, a Frenchman, supplied Henry with "19 pavices of steel." The term pavice here refers to bucklers or targets, not to the large pavice used to defend archers, cross-bowmen, and others. Small targets were also worn on the shoulder, as mentioned by Wingfield, in his letter to Wolsey from Brussels, 1522, when he says "the emperor arrived on horseback with 10 of his nobles, armed at all points, each with a target on his shoulder, in place of the grandgarde."

Of the buckler there are many notices and representations in contemporary works. In 1520, among purchases for the queen's use, are "At the sign of the

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coppe in Fleet Street, bucklers for the guard at 11 shillings, and two others at Shoreditch at 9*s.* 3*d.* each."

In 1525, Magnus, writing to Wolsey about the young Scotch king, then thirteen years old, says that the youth "wishes much to have a buckler, and admires the London bucklers worn by Magnus' servants." It should be made not as if for a child, "for that his grace loveth not but to have everything like unto a man, insomuch that the swords he daily useth are a yard afore the hilts, which his grace woll as roundly and quickly draw forth and put up again as any man in his court. His grace hath heard that the king's highness, his said uncle (Henry VIII.), at some times weareth and useth a buckler, and that moveth his said grace to be the more desirous thereof."

Among the royal jewels in 1530 is mentioned "a silver-gilt buckler with the arms of England, roses, castles, and pomegranates."

In 1531, the Venetian ambassador, Falier, mentions the English troops as carrying bucklers; and in the pictures of the embarkation of Henry at Dover, etc. at Hampton Court, the yeomen of the guard have them hanging at their girdles, much as in Elizabeth's time Gaspar Rutz figures his young Englishman; and though in the lists of prices of arms in her reign, the buckler is no longer mentioned, yet it will be remembered that an Act was passed by which the length of the spike on the boss was limited to two inches.[a]

At the Tower only two bucklers of steel are noted, but in Harleian MS. 1419, there are mentioned at Greenwich, "a buckler of steele painted, in a case of leather," and "viii bucklers of steele, vii guilte and wroughte th'other white."

There is one item which cannot be classed under arms or armour, and yet is interesting in this inventory, and that is the "stele colr for a prysonr." It does not appear in any of the lists *temp.* Elizabeth as far as can be seen, and in 1611 "Collers of Iron—2" may refer to parts of armour.

In 1629, only forty-one years after the Armada, the story had evidently not been made up, for "Old Coller—1," if it refers to this, is a very simple notice. But in 1660 we get "Spanish coller for torture, taken in 88t One"; and in 1675 it is "A collar of torture taken from the Spanish Armada." In 1629 it

[a] In 1531, there is mention of a messenger carrying a letter concealed beneath the boss of his buckler.

As London bucklers have been mentioned, we may note that George Bromfelde was the king's buckler-maker, and two others of this profession, Roger Morgan in Tothil Street, and Richard Hamkyn, of King Street, Westminster, occur in the records of this reign.

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was, as in 1547, at Greenwich, and it may be noted that in the same inventory—1660—that its new provenance is stated, the "Head piece with a paire of Rames hornes" of 1611, which was the "Hedde pece w^{t} a Rammes horne silver p̃cell guilte," blossoms into "Anticke Headpeece with Ramshornes, Coller and spectacles upon it, one Jacke, and one sword, all said to be William Sommers' armes."

The collar, a heavy one of iron, No. $\frac{18}{18}$, weighing about fourteen pounds, and having blunt spikes on its inside and upper and lower edges, is still shown with this title; but it seems more than likely that it had as little to do with the Armada as many other objects subsequently associated with the events of 1588. The fact of the entry in this 1547 inventory being the only one of the kind appears to connect the present collar with that date, and so, while depriving it of a fictitious glamour, to carry back its presence in the collection by forty years.

The collar, which is about 27 inches in external circumference, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, consists of two halves, each of which is formed by two pieces of metal about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. Of these, one piece forms the outer circumference, the other of this section ⌙ the inner, upper, and lower surfaces. On each of these upper and lower surfaces were six pyramidal-shaped spikes about $\frac{1}{3}$ inch long. One of them has been lost. On the inner surface of the collar were four cocked-hat-shaped spikes, and some thirty-six smaller ones. All these spikes play loosely in their sockets, being clinched inside. The space between the iron surfaces has at some period been filled with lead, but this has been a later addition, probably to excite the wonder of sight-seers, as the hole from which one of the spikes has been lost shows the lead right up to the iron and with no trace of the clinched head of the spike, which, if in position when the lead was run in, would have left a depression in it. The spikes are blunt, but the collar even without the lead must have been unpleasant to wear, though not so heavy as it now is—fourteen pounds. The two halves were locked together, and the key-holes show this, though only on one piece are the teeth of the locks remaining. After the locks were destroyed, the two pieces were kept together by rough iron-bands rivetted across the extremities of each half. The whole is a good specimen of a manufactured "horror" to draw the public, and no doubt added to the funds of the showmen and Tower authorities. Its antiquity should, however, protect it from association with the later thumb-screw, and modern bilboes, now in the same case with it.

From the days of Richard II., when Henry Bolinbroke in preparation for his combat with the Earl Marshal, sent to Milan for armour, that city enjoyed a great reputation for its work. There were, of course, armourers in England, and

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those of London are often mentioned many years before that date, but foreigners are also named as working in England. In Henry VII.'s time with the names of John Smythe, Robert Litton, and others, evidently English, occur Philip de Vigne and Ralph de Pontew (maker of brigandines to the king), both Frenchmen, and Vincent Tutellar, Tenteler, or Tutolez, for the name is written in these ways. Whether this was a Spaniard or Italian, we cannot say, but he had an annuity of twenty pounds for life for his services as armourer to Henry VII. Consequently, it is not astonishing that when Henry VIII. came to the throne he should, through his friend the Emperor Maximilian, seek to introduce into England workmen from his dominions. The overseers of these workmen were Englishmen, and there were many English armourers, as William Gurre, brigandine maker, Andrew and Rafe Brand, Richard Pelland, and John Diconson, armourers, but the two De Wats, Peter Fava, Asymus Kyrkener, Crochet, Van Ureland, and Bullato, are all foreign names continually occurring in the accounts of this reign.

From the notices quoted below, it appears that there were Almain or German armourers working for and wearing the livery of the king at Greenwich and in Southwark, and that Brussels armourers were settled at Greenwich in 1511, and Milanese armourers at Greenwich in 1514, if not before.[a] The French king's armourer also worked for Henry in 1514, and the grandfather of Sir William Dethick, Robert Diricke, was amongst the workmen at Greenwich in 1524.

[a] 1511. Payment to John Blewbery, for the new forge at Greenwich, made for the armourers of Brussels.

1514. Payment to John Blewbery of wages of the armourers of Milan and of Brussels.

1515. Blewbery receives 11*l.* 8*s.* for the gowns, coats, and hose of eleven Almain armourers, also 100*s.* for their diets.

1515. July, Aug. Sept. payments of 16*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per month for their wages. They were then at Greenwich. In 1529, the wages for twenty-eight days amounted to 25*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

In March, Blewbery had received 20*l.* for making a harness mill; but in October, Andrew Brand, armourer, was getting 26*s.* 8*d.* per month, for the hire of his mill for cleaning the king's harness.

1516. Payments to Sir Henry Guildford for the Almain armourers, and in November, payment for some at Southwark.

1517. Sir Henry Guildford receives money for erecting two forges, and for repairs at the armoury in Southwark.

In July, payments on account, to Henry Smyth for making an armoury house at Greenwich.

1518. George Lovekyn receives 16*d.* per diem for "overseeing the workmen in the armoury at Greenwich."

1519. The wages of the Almain armourers at Southwark for twenty-eight days were 16*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*; and besides 117*s.* 6*d.* paid to Sir Edward Guildford for stuff bought for the armourers at Greenwich and

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Of the armour at Westminster, the most numerous item is the 1089 white murrions. These helmets, with nine others, and sixteen black ones, were for foot soldiers, and in the Cowdray pictures we see them worn in very many instances.

As to the word morion, it was, like the morris pike, derived from the wars in Spain, though from which of the nationalities engaged it would be difficult to say. The white ones would be for land service, whilst the black ones were possibly for soldiers on board ship. In Elizabeth's reign there are payments for painting black, not only head-pieces, but also corslets or body-armour, which "by reason of the salt water will by no means be kept clean except they be blacked," at 5*s.* the piece.

The next largest item is "Briggendines covered w^t^ blacke fustian and white lynnen clothe called millen cottes ccx." These brigandines, which Meyrick has called millers' coats, an instance of careless transcription, would also be for foot soldiers, and the report of the "Remaine of the Quenes Ma^ties^ Armure," etc. in 1564, mentions at Westminster "15 Millen cotes called Brigendens."

Ten black brigandines and two with long taces, together with a "Northerne jacke covered with lynnen," complete the store of this class of armour at Westminster.

We then have twenty-eight black, five white, and one enamelled blue animes. The anime does not often occur in inventories, and Grose, Meyrick, and Hewitt all omit mention of it.

In Gay's *Glossaire Archéologique* the term is explained as a cuirass consisting of breast and back of horizontally disposed strips of metal as in the defensive armour known as the *écrevisse* or lobster. The anime is only a variety of the *halecret*, and its origin in the days of Louis XII. is confused with that of the brigandine, which it resembles in its flexibility, but the strips, which are longer, are visible. This armour without armpieces or faudière was worn in the time of Henry II. by the Gascon and Picardy bands, and in Henry IV.'s day by the pikemen and gensdarmes.

In the description of Henry II.'s entry into Lyons in 1548 the term is used as alternative with corselet. Nicot's dictionary in 1606 gives the same description of the anime.[a]

Southwark, in April, Sir Edward received in May, 27*l.* 4*s.* the yearly charge for red cloth for the livery, and kersey for the hose of the Almain armourers.

1530. Sir Edward Guildford receives 23*s.* 8*d.* for apparel for eighteen armourers.

[a] In the 1564 report, we have "Animees or corslets," and as they are mentioned in the same list with "Almaine corslets," "Almaine rivets," and "corslets," there were doubtless distinctions

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There was also at Westminster one suit described as a complete harnesse with "a longe bast allow^{r} engraven and p̃cell guilte with Rooses and Pomegranetts, whiche was King Henry the VIIth his harnesse."

This suit does not now exist in the Tower collection, nor is its present whereabouts known. It is not the engraved suit No. $\frac{2}{6}$ for that we find in the "First House at Greenwich."

The formation of an armoury such as that at Greenwich was of course very gradual. Henry's friend, the emperor, sent him handsome presents of armour, other sovereigns and their ambassadors ministered to his taste for such objects, and the New Year's gifts from the members of the court often were of this nature. There is an entry in the Greenwich portion of the inventory which discloses another source for additions to the collection. It is "Itm certen odde peces the whiche was sent unto the Kinges Maiestie from Bulloigne at divers tymes the whiche the Frenchemen were slayne in." One would have expected from the above to have found the sword and dagger of James IV. of Scotland at Greenwich instead of the Heralds' College, but evidently there were other collectors of arms besides the king.

Why the "heddepece the whiche was the Capytanes of Arde" was in the collection does not appear. Hall does not mention such a person at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and beyond the fact that Ardres was captured by the Imperialists

at one time between the different defences. The anime when complete apparently included taces and gauntlets, which the corslet and the Almaine rivet did not. In 1569, "Animee or Almaigne corslets" are mentioned.

The "fine cote of maile edged with crymsen vellet with sleeves," etc. and the morions and sculls which were covered with velvet or satin and garnished with gold lace, were superior pieces, and intended for officers or at least court guards.

In 1564, 5*d.* each was charged for cleaning shirts of mail, and 2*d.* each for sleeves.

The Almayne rivet in 1512, consisted of a salet (salade) gorget, a breastplate, a backplate, and a pair of splints (taces). The corslet, which was its equivalent in 1579, when the Almayne rivet had become "out of use," included a morion or burgonet. The Almaine rivet in 1512 cost 11*s.* the suit.

In 1569, "Animee or Almaigne corslets" are noted as being at Westminster.

In 1516, Godfrey Horne receives 143*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for 400 suits, about 7*s.* 1*d.* the suit.

In 1520, 12*d.* a piece was charged for cleaning Almaine rivets brought from Calais, and 4*d.* per suit for new buckling, leathering, and mending.

In 1515, Sir Robert Wingfield, writing to Henry VIII. from Vienna, mentions lance knights arrayed in red with their halcretis, pikes, and guns. The halcretis were the allecrets, which, as noted above, resembled, if they were not identical with, the animes, etc.

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in September 1521, and burnt and abandoned the next month, there appears to be nothing of sufficient interest about it for this headpiece to be thus noted.

At Greenwich the arms and armour are mentioned as being part in the charge of "Erasimus Kirkener, armerer, and part in the custodye of S^{r} Thomas Pastone, and remayninge in the Tilte yarde." Some portion of this last is referred to as being in the first, second, third, and the lesser and bigger of the two little houses.

None of the armour is mentioned in the 1542 inventory of Greenwich, so we must suppose that its location there took place between 1542 and 1547. The armoury house was in course of construction as early as 1517, as appears from payments in that year to Henry Smith, but it is quite likely that the horses and other arrangements for the display of the suits and saddles were not placed in the houses till after 1542. Between 1547 and 1611 some of the suits were removed to the Green Gallery, where they are mentioned as being in the inventories of 1611, 1629, 1630, and probably until the time of their removal to London, in or about 1644.

In the 1547 inventory though, besides Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, arms are recorded as in store at Windsor, Hampton Court, Bridewell, and Deptford, yet the armoury house at Southwark, and the Crowned Key at Southwark, which latter place was in 1529 being hired for the king's harness at 40*s.* the half-year, are neither of them mentioned, and it is possible that the stores which were for some time at those places, were, on the completion of the armoury house, Tilt Yard, etc. at Greenwich, removed thither.

The portion of the inventory stated as being in the charge of Erasimus Kirkener, or, as he is often called in the accounts, Azymus, contains the bulk of the fire-arms mentioned, some other weapons of different kinds, and five complete harnesses, three briggendines, eleven morions, some horse armour, saddle trees, and various odds and ends of armour.

Of the complete harness there is one of "Italion makinge"[a] and four with the extra portions used for the tilt, and described in the inventories of those days as

[a] Brescia appears to have had a great name at this time for certain impenetrable cuirasses made there. In 1532, Carlo Capello reported to the Signory that the Duke of Norfolk and four others, including Cromwell, were very anxious to have five of these cuirasses with their coverings. The necessary measurements were sent and payment promised. The Doge and Senate having as usual discussed and voted on the subject, decided by 171 ayes to 1 no and 7 neutrals that the request should be granted: but added that they should be gifts. This last decision was carried by 177 ayes, 7 noes, and 3 neutrals.

There is a letter from Richard Thyrkill to Henry VIII. from Antwerp in 1513, in which he

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double pieces, or pieces of advantage, from the German and French terms for such. Of these four suits three also have crinets, shaffrons, and barbes, and two of them are partly gilt as well as engraved. These suits may have been the same as the first four mentioned in the inventories of 1511, 1629, and 1631.

The brigandines at Greenwich were such as would be worn by gentlefolk, one being covered with blue satin, another with sleeves covered with crimson cloth of gold, and the third set with gilt nails and covered with crimson satin. This last had sleeves matching the coat, and the whole was wrapped in a piece of kersey.

Three northern jacks of canvas and plate represent the less gorgeous form of this class of armour.

Eight morions covered with different coloured velvets and garnished with lace or pearls might in pictures be taken for hats of other material than steel, and it is probable that in many cases, that which in an historical portrait looks like a felt hat is in reality a stout head-piece. It should be remembered that from very early times armour, and especially the head defence, was often painted or covered with leather, or some textile fabric; and, in short that the bright shining headpiece of the modern painter was by no means the invariable rule or custom in the days when armour was worn.

"An Anime Curett w^{t} a Murrion and a Bever" shows how the names of the head-pieces varied at different times, for a morion such as we generally understand it from the helmet of Mary or Elizabeth's reign would certainly not have a bever. We must therefore take the expression murrion in this inventory to include other forms of head-pieces.[a]

Gauntlets of copper gilt could only have been for pageants, the exercises of the tilt-yard requiring no less strength of material than did the vicissitudes of the field.

Shoes of mail and gussets of mail are of course recognisable, but the "twoo

says he can find "no harness of the fleur de lis in any part of Brabant." This must refer to some Low Country armourers' mark, but nothing is known of such armour.

The tonnelet suit, No. $\frac{2}{29}$ in the Tower, certainly has a fleur de lys engraved on one of the pieces, but it hardly seems to be an armourers' mark. The gun $\frac{12}{1}$ mentioned under fire-arms in these notes also has a fleur de lys, but that is stamped on the breech, and it has the two letters W and H. Armourers did not make guns, but there may have been exceptions.

[a] For some valuable remarks on the uncertain nomenclature of helmets at various times, see *Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail*, by the Baron de Cosson, F.S.A. and the late W. Burges, A.R.A., 1881.

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calfs of Maile," unless a clerical error for coifs of mail, do not explain themselves. Coifs even, in the sixteenth century appear strangely out of date.

The horse armour includes nine shaffrons, besides six half shaffrons, also six crinets. Some of these are plain, others parcel-gilt. There are also reins of chains and girths of green silk with copper-gilt buckles. The chain reins would be for the field, they being a common point of attack in all ages. Gilt and engraved spurs and stirrups and vamplates for the tiltyard are also mentioned.

Saddletrees with the steel plates for their fronts also occur, but the greater number were in the houses.

The armour of the tilt-yard consisted of fourteen suits for the field[a] removed from Westminster, such as may be meant by the term "demilancer suits" in the later inventories. There were also six curetts with grandguards and five basenets. These were for the tourney and tilt, and the remark about morions on p. 36 must apply here, the basenet, as generally understood by that term, not being at any time used with the grandguard, nor for mounted contests.

Besides the above there was "one harnesse for the king's Maiestie all graven and pcell guilte, bothe for the felde and Tilte complete, w^{h} was cõmaunded to be translated at the King's goinge over to Bulloigne, which lieth in peces parte translated and parte untranslated by a contrarie cõmaundement by the Kings Maiestie."

Here we have an interesting instance recorded of a suit being translated or its fashion altered; yet another reason for the scarcity of very ancient armour. As Henry's last visit to France, when Boulogne was taken, was in 1544, we see that three years had passed without the suit being put together in either one fashion or the other, and storekeepers finding such armour in a collection might well be puzzled to know if it were all of one original suit. There is in 1530 a payment of

[a] There is in a letter of Sir H. Poulet and Sir J. Harington to the Lord Protector, Feb. 24, 1546-7, an interesting illustration of the difference between the armour for the field and that for the tilt. In the account of the proceedings at Calais in honour of the coronation of Edward VI. "6 of the men at arms of this town did challenge all comers at the ring, for lack of a tilt. Henry Dudley, to enlarge the same triumph, devised to run at random with every of the challengers and to assay the thing what they could do. Dudley and Jerningham, the Thursday before, met in the field in their hosting harness, and ran the one against the other with coronet staves, and at the second counter met so freely that both went to the ground, their harness flying about the field and their horses astonied, but (thanks to God) without hurt, both leaped on horseback again, and brake sundry staves very honestly."

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57*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* to the master of the horse for sending the king's harness from Bullayne to Myllane. This was possibly for a "translation."

When a suit was to be made for anyone, the armourer required some garments worn by the individual as a pattern to go by, for the length of limb, and the distance apart of the points of flexure were more important in the steel or iron than in the textile fabric. Thus when in 1512 a suit was to be made at Innspruck for the young archduke Charles, later Charles V., the armourers asked for a jacket and hose of his, by which to make the armour.[a]

In the houses we find horses mentioned for displaying the armour and saddles. We are not told whether these were anything like the present horses, some of which are said to be the work of Grinling Gibbons, or merely stands on four legs like the wooden horse used as a military punishment in the seventeenth century. In 1517, in the payment to Henry Smyth for work at the armoury house at Greenwich, "making of men and horse of timber" is mentioned. This item evidently refers to the stands for the armour. In the 1660 Tower inventory "wood crosses to hang armour on" occur.

In the first house are three suits and a steel saddle. The first is a plain "hostinge harnesse" or suit for the field, and no horse armour is mentioned.

On the second horse is another "hostinge harnesse," the cuisshes of which appear to have been given to Sir Henry Knyvet "at his going over the sea." The steel saddle is mentioned as being "to sarve Capytaine Julyan at the fightinge of

[a] The following are some of the notices of armour made for or purchased for the king's own use.

In 1511, Henry sent Jerningham into Germany and Italy to purchase armour, and in May Sir Robert Wingfield writes from Innspruck, that Jerningham had left that place, "and hath set all your harness also that harness which the emperor doth send to your grace."

In 1512, Oct. Jerningham writes from Newys (Vienna) that "the armour is all bespoken."

In 1513, Amadus ? Azamus, *i. e.* Erasmus Kirkener, the king's armourer, receives 462*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* for garnishing a headpiece with crown gold, garnishing a salet and mending a shapewe.

In 1514, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4 . was paid to the French king's armourer for making a complete harness for the king.

In 1515, Crochet, the king's armourer, receives 19*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* for harness.

In 1515, Peter Fever for a complete harness receives 40*l*, and in 1518 his widow gets 117*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for harness made by her late husband.

In 1516, Jacob de Wat, armourer, receives 24*l.*, and later in the same year 30*l.* for three complete harnesses.

In March 1520, 18*l.* 6*s.* is paid to John Crochet for harness for the king's own use.

In Feb. 1521, Ric. Harvey is paid 10*l.* for harness for the king.

No horse armour is included in the above.

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the Campe in Fraunce." This is rather confused, but it is clear that suits or parts of them were sometimes lent to favourites of the king.

In 1534 Sir Francis Bryan writes to Lord Lisle, "I have asked the king for a harness for you. He says that you will not require to fight yet, but when he goes to Greenwich, I suppose within these 14 days, he will look out one for you."

And in 1535 Sir J. Dudley writes to Cromwell that he has received a warrant to deliver to Christopher Morres, master gunner, "for the use of Sir Marcus Maior, one of the king's harness complete, fit for the king's use, three years past."

On the third horse is "a harnesse given unto the King's Maiestie by Th' Empero^r^ Maximilian w^t^ a Base of stele and goldesmythe worke silver and guilte with a border about the same silver and guilte of Goldesmythes worke, and a barde of stele w^t^ a Burgonion Crosse and the fusye, and a Saddell with a crymmyn and a shaffron to the same."

We here have the splendid engraved suit now No. $\frac{2}{6}$ in the Tower collection, but with the horse armour of No. $\frac{2}{8}$. I hope on a future occasion to lay before the Society some notes on the making and dispatch to England of this singularly handsome and interesting suit, but on the present occasion will content myself with mentioning that it was made not on the occasion of Henry VIII.'s marriage, but in 1511—14, and I would also point out that the present horse armour, engravings of which were published in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxii. by Dr. Meyrick with drawings by Mr. Lovell, is not mentioned in this inventory.

On the fourth horse was a saddle richly furnished, and "19 odde peces of the prevy harnesse." This last is very puzzling, for a privy-coat is understood to have been a hawberk of chain worn beneath civil garments, but this appears to refer to some suit.

In the second house were three more horses, on the first of which was a saddle, on the second another saddle and a gilt and silvered backe crinet and shaffron.

On the third was a tilting harness with "a hedde pece w^t^ a Rammes horne silver ꝑcell guilte." In 1611, "a headpiece with a paire of Rames Hornes" is the description, and it is not till 1660 that it is attributed to William Sommers.

This as now shown No. $\frac{4}{112\,6}$ has the helmet thickly covered with dark blue paint, the horns yellow, and the grotesque face "proper" with gold spectacles. The silvered surface can however still be seen where the paint has been rubbed off, and there are traces of gilding on the horns. The helmet is part of an old armet of curious design, with an iron mask, etc. attached to it by a hinge over the brow, and hooks and staples at the chin. The mask is pierced at the eyes, mouth, nostrils, and in

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the deep wrinkles of the face, so that the wearer could breathe fairly well. It was probably used in some masque, or at one of those grotesque tournaments like that at Nuremberg in the middle of the sixteenth century, where the combatants are represented with fool's caps and bells. The back of the helmet is ornamented with peculiar alternations of *repoussé* and indented spaces.

The third house contained one horse, on which were two collars of bells silver and gilt, such as seen in the pictures, etc. of tournaments.

There were also five saddles richly embroidered and covered, and one "hevie Armynge sworde for the Kinge."

The two little houses contained, with the exception of two holy-water sprinkles, nothing but armour, and chiefly such as was used in the tiltyard.

There were curetts (*i. e.* cuirasses and backplates), some with and some without basenetts, and curetts with basenetts and breches for fighting on foot. One hosting harness is also mentioned. Three tunletts with basenetts are noted.[a] These armours, properly written tonnelet, and tonne, are in later inventories called trundlets. They were body armour with long skirts, consisting of horizontal strips of metal, such as are seen in the brasses of the time of Henry VI., but reaching to the knees, and were used for single combats on foot in the lists with lances, casting-swords, axes, two-handed swords, etc. They differed from the steel bases of Henry's engraved suit in their being flexible in a vertical direction. Thus they would lift up like a venetian blind is capable of being raised, the taces sliding one over the other.

In the Tower collection No. $\frac{6}{19}$ is probably the "Tunlett, parcell guilte, w[t] a Basenett complete, Lackinge one gauntlett."[b] No. $\frac{6}{19}$, unfortunately, now lacks both gauntlets, and has been supplied with leg armour, such as was only worn on horseback.

Hand defences of various fashions are mentioned as being in these little houses. There are "manufiers," the main de fer, or bridle-hand gauntlet, also vambraces with "polder mittons." Here we have the *espaulle de mouton* of C[te] de Belleval's

[a] In later inventories there is mention of an "old fashioned armo[r] called a trundlett parcell guilte and graven," this was shown on a horse, but how it is difficult to imagine. Trundlett is evidently the corrupted form of tonnelet.

[b] The head-piece, which has been at some date subsequent to its making rendered more safe for the wearer by the addition of small pierced plates behind the sight and breathing slits, is engraved on both sides of the upper part and has the Collar of the Garter with the George engraved round the neck. There are evidences of it having been partly gilt.

It bears an armourer's mark twice repeated. The lames of the skirt and the shoulder-pieces are also engraved. The Garter and the Rose point to its having belonged to Henry VIII.

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MS. of 1446. They were for the right arm, and protected the bend of the arm. Grandguards are mentioned, and "ij pase-gardes and one coller." Pass-guards have in England been supposed to mean those erect pieces of metal rising from the shoulders, and seen not only in original armour of this date, but also in monumental brasses, illuminated MSS., and in pictures. The pass-guard was, however, not this, but one of the extra pieces, *piéces d'avantage, doppel stücke,* used only in the tilt-yard. Among the accounts for revels, in 1520 and 1522, there are charges for lining with satin and quilting with carded wool the lining of the headpieces, tasses, pass-guards, and mayndfers of the king. From this it is clear that the pass-guard was some piece of armour bearing or placed upon the wearer's body or limbs, and padded to protect them from the effect of a blow. The so-called pass-guards of the English are in German called *brech randt* or *rendt,* and were worn in the field as well as in the tilt-yard.

On folio 435 are mentioned "iij odde Vambrases with Pollrondes and one paier of Pollrandes." The word pollrond or pollrand has not, I believe, been met with in any other inventory, but may we not have in it the English name at this date for the so-called pass-guard? The French *garde-de-cou,* as also the German *stoss-kragen* (collar for the thrust or blow), or the *brech rand* (breaking edge), more or less convey the idea of this defence; and, taking into account the adoption of foreign terms in matters of armour and weapons, as seen in the slaghe-sword and the polder-mitton (see page 40), the term pollrand may have been perfectly intelligible to the English warrior of this period. As in the polder-mitton, the word épaule is apparent, so in polrand we have, by a mixture of French and German, the shoulder edge or border. Such a term would fairly describe these so-called pass-guards, which in some instances, as in the fluted suit No. $\frac{2}{5}$ in the Tower collection, were removable, and in others, as in No. $\frac{2}{6}$, the engraved suit presented by Maximilian, were developments of the third plate of the series composing the shoulder defences.

In the two little houses poldrence in pairs and odd ones are enumerated, also double ones, but whether these refer to the whole shoulder defence or are varieties in the spelling of the pollrand it is difficult to say. The word pouldron as now used for the whole arrangement of plates may not have existed at that date, and the term vambrace, now only applied to the armour of the fore-arm, may have included the shoulder-piece, as it evidently did that which later was called the rere-brace or defence for the upper arm. The upright guards, by whatever names they were known at different dates and in different countries, were in use for some 130 years. The earliest representation of them met with is in the Bedford

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Missal, Add. MS. 18850, executed *circa* 1424, and one of the later instances would be the sketch by Zucharo for a portrait of Robert Dudley earl of Leicester. The sketch now in the British Museum and engraved in Rogers' *Imitations of Drawings* represents the earl in the engraved suit now shown as No. $\frac{9}{11}$ of the Tower collection, and he wears these guards. The suit itself has not got them, but on the shoulders may be seen the holes in which were the pins for holding them. Behind him on the ground is the grandguard, etc.

There is a curious entry among the arms at Greenwich, namely, "twoo secrete Vambray for the hevie Turninge sworde." This is explained by a report of Sir Richard Wingfield to Henry VIII. in March 1520, when the preliminary arrangements for the meeting of the two monarchs at the Field of the Cloth of Gold was being arranged. Wingfield reports that he had presented to Francis the sword "for the nimble handling whereof he hath or knoweth no feat, but thought it not maniable, and called the admiral to him, and caused him to feel the weight therof, who showed him that he had seen your grace weild one more pesaunt than the same as deliverly as could be devised; but for such promise as he had made your highness, he might not disclose the manner how, saving that it was by means of a gauntlet." Francis accordingly desired Wingfield to ask Henry for such a gauntlet, offering in exchange, if Henry would send him one of his arming doublets, to make him a pair of cuirasses, such as he had not seen, to be ready before the interview. "The secret whereof was only for the easy bearing and sustaining of the weight of such pieces as rest upon the cuirasses; the shoulders should sustain no burthen."

These pieces "which rest upon the cuirasses" would be in jousting-suits the grandguard, or the manteau d'armes. Unfortunately we are not told how this desirable change was to be effected; but the cuirass and backplate in themselves we know weighed heavily on the shoulders, and it was to obviate this that we find in the notes for the outfit of the Earl of Northumberland, when proceeding to the siege of Terwin (Terrouenne), in the fifth year of Henry's reign, the following item: "A trussyng boulster of white fustyan for my Lord to were abowt his myddel, under his harnes, for berrying up of the currese."

"The Hatte of Stele" is too indefinite to classify, but may have been such a one as Henry wore when landing in France in 1513. Hall tells us that "he was appareiled in Almaine ryvet crested, and his vambrace of the same, and on his hedde a chapeau Mõtabyn (Montauban), with a rich coronal; ye fold of the chapeau was lined with crymsin satẽ, on yt a riche brooch with ye image of Sainct George." The "crested" ryvet was doubtless a fluted suit such as is

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seen in the Tower, No. $\frac{4}{3}$, where it is assigned, with no good reason, to Henry VII.

It will be seen that most of the suits mentioned above are no longer in the National collection; but if still existing in any foreign or private collection, some of them, such as that on fol. 432, might be identified.

Of the arms and armour in the present Tower collection much has been added in comparatively recent years, and even of that part which there is no reason to suppose has been introduced subsequently to the general removal in 1644, very many weapons and other pieces have, from careless treatment in former years, lost much of their rich gilding and ornamentation. Owing to this and to the ignorance in matters connected with such objects which prevailed until very recent days, the means of identification have in most instances been quite lost.

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BRANDER MS. *PENES* SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

Fol. 251*a*. THE TOWRE OF LONDON.—Ordinaunce Artillery.—Munytions habyllaments of warre remayning wthin the said Towre in the chardge of S^{r} Phillip Hobby knight M^{r} of the Kings Ma^{ties} orden^{au}nce the xxth day of Decembre Anno. primo R E. vi.

	Gonnes of Brasse.
Cannors (*sic*)	iiij^{or}.
Venyssian Cannons[a]	ii^{o}.
Cannons Peryers[b]	ii^{o}.
Demye Cannons	iiij^{o}.
Culverynes	vj^{x}.
Sacres[c]	vj^{x}.
Mynnyons	x^{en}.
ffawcons	j.
Brode fawcons shoting iij shotte[d]	j.
Demye Culveryns	v^{e}.

Fol. 251*b*.

	ffrenche Gonnes of Brasse.
Demye Cannons	ij^{o}.

[a] See p. 223.

[b] Cannon specially for stone shot.

[c] A sacre was a hawk.

[d] Now No. 10 of the Tower collection. See p. 224.

According to Fronsperger in 1561, the basiliscus threw 75 lbs. the schlange or slyng, 8 lbs. the falchana 4 lbs. the falcka or fauconnet 2 lbs. the double hake $\frac{1}{8}$ lb. the hake $\frac{1}{12}$ lb., the half hake $\frac{1}{20}$ lb. These weights are German lbs.

The cannon of the sixteenth century varied so much in different countries and at different dates, that it is impossible to lay down any rule as to their size. Thus the *cannons* made at Malines by Poppenreuter for Henry VIII. in 1512, vary in weight from "The Gartter," 2991 lbs. to "The Normandy," 3979 lbs. The *curtaldes* are more uniform, "the Hartt," of 3028 lbs. and "The Sonnarisyng" of 3083 lbs. being the extremes. Twenty-four *serpentines* vary between "The Falcon," 1038 lbs. and "The Dragonn," 1170 lbs.

About 1512, a note in the State Papers mentions that the shot of different guns were as follows: Each Apostle 20 lbs. Curtow, 60 lbs. Culverin, 20 lbs. Lizard, 12 lbs. Bombard, 260 lbs. Minion, 8 lbs. Potgun, 8 lbs.

In Elizabeth's reign, according to Sir William Monson, the *cannon* weighed 6000 lbs. with a shot of 60 lbs. The *demy cannon*, 4000 lbs. and 33½ lbs. *Culverine*, 4500 lbs. and 17½ lbs. the

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Culverynes	oone.
Sacres	oone.
ffawcons	ij.
Skottishe Gonnes of Brasse.	
Demye Cannons	oone.
Culveryns	ij°.
Sacres	iij.
ffawcons	oone.
ffawconetts	ix.
Robynetts	oone.
Gonnes of Yron.	
Bombardes	iij^{e}.
Porte peices	xxx^{ti}.
Slynges	v^{e}.
Demye Slynges	x^{en}.
Quarter Slynges[a]	xv^{en}.
Fowlers	ij°.
Doble Basis	viij^{t}.
Demye Basis	xx^{ti}.
Topp pecis grete and smalle	xiij^{en}.
Waggan basis	cciiij^{or}.
Haile shotte peics	xlj^{en}.
Hand gonnes complete	vj^{ml}D.
Copper and bell mettall.	
Copper in bullets and plaets in weight	vii^{c} xxv^{ml} ix^{c} xx^{lb}.
Belle mettaill in weight	m^{l} m^{l} m^{l} m^{l}.

Fol. 252*a*.

sacre, 1400 lbs. and 5½ lbs. The *minion*, 1000 lbs. and 4 lbs. The *fawcon*, 660 lbs. and 2 lbs. The *demy culverine*, 3400 lbs. and 9½ lbs. The *fawconnet*, 500 lbs. and 1½ lb. The *robynett*, 300 lbs. and ½ lb.

No. 12 of the present Tower collection, bearing the inscription, "Robert and John Owene Brithrine mad this facone, anno 1549," has a calibre of 2¾ inches.

A *sacre* made by Franciscus Arcanus in 1529, and now at Woolwich, has a calibre of 3·″65, and would be about a 6-pounder. Another with a calibre of 3″·92, or a 7-pounder. A third cast by John and Robert Owen in 1535 has a calibre of 3″·75.

At Woolwich also, a *culverine* of 1542, by Arcanus de Arcanis, weighs 43 cwt. with a calibre of 5″·20, or a 25-pounder.

A *cannon royal* by John Owen has a calibre of 8·″54, which was about the size of this class of gun in Elizabeth's reign.

[a] See p. 227, note [a].

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	Shotte of Irone.
Cannon shotte	m^{l} m^{l} ix^{c} xxviij^{li}.
Demy Cannon shotte	v^{ml} iij^{c} xxviij.
Culveryn shotte	iij^{ml} iij^{c} xxij^{li}.
Demy Culveryn shotte	iiij^{lm} Dccc Lviij.
Sacre shotte	m^{l}.
Mynnyon shotte	m^{l}.
ffawcon shotte	iij^{ml}.
ffawconnet shotte	v^{ml}.
	Shotte of Stone.
Stone shotte[a]	m^{l} m^{l}.
	Gonne powder.
Serpentyne powder[b]	xL lasts
Crosse corne powder	xLvi lasts.
ffyne corne powder	ij^{l}.
Fol. 252b.	**Salt-peter brympstone.**
Salt-peter	cxL^{ml}.
Brymstone	xx^{ml}.
Coole powder	xx^{br}.
	Bowes and arrowes.
Bowes of eugh	iij^{ml} Lx.
Bowstringes viij bx conteyning	iiij^{xx} groce.
Lyvery arrowes	xij^{ml} L shiefe.
	Munytions.
Blake billes	vj^{ml} vij^{c}.
Halbardys	cccvj^{c}.
Javelyns	iiij^{c} iiij^{xx}.
Hollywater sprinckles	c.
Morrispicks	xx^{ml} c.
Demye Launces[c]	cxx.
Northeron staves[c]	Dc.
Topp dartes[d]	v doss.
ffare cartes[e]	xL.
Shovelles and spades	m^{l} D.
Pickaxes	m^{l}.
ffellyng axes	ciiij^{xx}.
Hedging billes	iiij^{c} x^{en}.
Cressets[f]	iiij^{xx}.

[a] See p. 227, note [a]. [b] See p. 227. [c] See p. 240. [d] See p. 238. [e] ? if store-carts.
[f] Iron cups at the end of poles for holding lights in the open air.

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Horsse shooes	MDC.
Horse shoe nailes	XL^{ml}.
Lyntes or matchies	m^{l} weight.
Bucketts of leder	xxxj.
Lanterns	xxvj.
Sythes	x^{en} doss.
Hookes[a]	ij doss.
Crowes of Yrone[b]	xvj^{en}.
Horse harneis	c paire.

Hereafter ensueth the receipte of dyuers and sondry kyndes of munytions and habillem̄t^{ts} of warre from the kings Ma^{ties} palace at Westm^{r} the vii of July Anno primo Regis Edwardi sexti, which munytions was conveied unto the Towre of London into the chardge of Sir Phillip Hobby Knight, Maister of the Kings orden^{au}nce. That is to say. *Fol. 253a.*

In the First House.

Demy hakes or handgonnes	cxxix^{m}.
fflaxis and towche boxes of eche[c]	ccxiiij^{or}. *Fol. 253b.*
Hagbusshes a Croke of brasse	iij^{en}.
Hagbusshes a croke of irone	oone.
Hoole hackes	ij.
Greate hollywater sprinckelles	cxviij.
Holly water sprincles w^{t} gonnes in thende	vij.
Holly water sprincles w^{t} thre gonnes in the Topp[d]	oone.
Litle holly water sprincles[e]	ccciiij^{xx} xii.
Pole axes w^{t} gonnes in thendes	xxvij.
Pole axes w^{t}out gonnes	ij.
Bore speares w^{t} asshen staves trymed w^{t} crymesyn velvet and fringed w^{t} redde silke[f]	cciiij^{xx} xi.
Bore speares knotted and lethered	cLxij.
Bore speares w^{t} asshen staves trym̄ed w^{t} lether	iiij^{xx} xvij.
Bore speares graven and gilte	ij.
White halberdes w^{t} playne staves	cxxvj.
White halberdes garnyshed w^{t} crymsen velvet	iiij^{xx} xv.
Almyne billes	xiij^{en}.
Javelyns w^{t} staves trym̄ed w^{t} white grene blacke silke and fustyane of apes[g]	ccix.
Targetts steilde w^{t} gonnes[h]	xxxv.

[a] Reaping-hooks.
[b] Crowbars.
[c] Flasks and priming flasks.
[d] Now No. $\frac{14}{1}$ at the Tower.
[e] See p. 239.
[f] See p. 238.
[g] Fustian of Naples.
[h] Nos. $\frac{5}{18-38}$ at the Tower.

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	Targetts playne w^{t}out gonnes	vii.
	Targetts w^{t} xx^{ti} litle gonnes	oone.
	Targetts w^{t} iiij^{or} gonnes	oone.
	A longe Target w^{t} oone gonne	oone.
	A tergett of the shell of a tortys	oone.
Fol. 254*a*.	Morryspikes garnyshed w^{t} velvet and p̃cell gilt heddes[a]	Lix^{m}.
	Tergettes olde broken	xij^{ve}.
	Pole axes paerted (*sic*) w^{t} cremysyn velvet	cxvij^{en}.
	Broken gonnes of irone di hacks	vij^{en}.
	Litle broken gonnes of brasse	iij^{e}.
	Javelyns w^{t} staves ptlie trymed w^{t} cremysen velvet	ccxiij^{en}.
	In the Secunde House.	
	Partysans headdes w^{t}out staves ptie gilte	ciiij^{xx} xij.
	Morispicks heddes ptie gilte w^{t}out staves	iiij^{c} vij.
	Darte heddes partie gilte	xvj.
	Thre grayne heddes partie gilte	Lxvj.
	Halbard heddes partie gilte w^{t}out staves	Lij.
	Javelyne heddes partie gilte w^{t}out staves	cx.
	Rawcon heddes party gilte w^{t}out staves	xxiij.
	Morispicke heddes w^{t}out staves w^{t} damaske worke gilte	viij.
	Shorte Javelyne heddes w^{t}out staves w^{t} damaske worke gilte	iij.
	Hande axe heddes w^{t}out staves	ij.
	Javelyns w^{t} staves ptie gilte garnyshed w^{t} velvet[b]	iiij^{c} xxij.
	Javelyns w^{t} staves ungilte garnyshed w^{t} crymsen velvet	cciiij^{xx} xviij.
	Javelyns staved w^{t} shorte heddes partie gilte	ccLxxij.
Fol. 254*b*.	Partysans party gilte garnyshed w^{t} velvet	iiij^{xx} xi.
	Targetts playne paynted gilte	xLv.
	Targetts paynted gilte lyned w^{t} blacke velvet[c]	ij.
	Targetts sone blacke and an other white	ij.
	Morrispicks garnyshed w^{t} velvet and p̃cell gilte	xxiiij.
	Partysans staved garnyshed w^{t} velvet pcell gilte	DcLxi.
	Targetts paynted and gilte fringed w^{t} silke	Lx.
	Shorte Javelyn headdes ptie gilte w^{t}out staves	xxiij.
	Targetts paynted and gilted of sondry sorts not fringed	viij.
	In the Thirde house.	
	Demye hackes or handgonnes	Lxxj.
	Shorte gonnes for horsemen w^{t} cases of lether furnyshed w^{t} hornes and purses	ccLxxv.
	Gonnes of thre hales a peace	v.

[a] See p. 235. [b] See p. 237. [c] See p. 246.

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Gonnes of Iron w^{t} iiij halles[a]	oone.	
Gonnes w^{t} ij halles	oone.	
Thre grayned staves trymed w^{t} crymsyn velvet[b]	ciiij^{xx} viij.	
Rawcons	v.	
Targetts w^{t} gonnes	xLvij.	
Litle gonnes of brasse mounted uppon cariage with shodde wheles being patrons for cannons	ij.	
Litle gonnes of brasse mounted upon carriage being a patron for di cannon	oone.	*Fol.* 255*a*.
Litle gonnes of brasse mounted upon carriages being patrons for culveryns	ij.	
A litle gonne morter of brasse stocked and garnyshed w^{t} irone	oone.	
A litle gonne morter of brasse mounted uppon a redde stocke	oone.	
In the Gallery.		
Morryspicks garnyshed w^{t} velvet and percelle gilte heddes	ciiij.	
The ffifte house.		
Targetts paynted and gilte of sondry sortes	Lx.	
Shorte pollaxes playne	c.	
Two hand polaxes	iij.	
Hand pollaxes w^{t} a gonne and a case for the same	oone.	
Polaxes gilte the staves covered w^{t} cremysyne velvet fringed w^{t} silke of golde	iiij^{or}.	
Halberdes gilte w^{t} staves covered w^{t} purple velvet and fringed w^{t} gold and silke	ij.	*Fol.* 255*b*.
Halberdys gilte and garnyshed w^{t} crymesen velvet	xxvij.	
Three grayned staves partlie gilt garnyshed withe crymesen velvet	xxv.	
Rawcons w^{t} staves garnyshed w^{t} velvet and fringed	Lvi.	
The sixte house.		
Targetts playne w^{t}out gonnes fringed w^{t} silke	cxxxij^{en}.	
Targetts playne w^{t}out frindge	xiij^{en}.	
Steild targett w^{t} a gret bosse fringed w^{t} silke and golde	oone.	
Steeld targett set w^{t} aggetts and dyamonde pointes of fflynte	oone.	
Bucklers of steele	ij^{o}.	
Steeld targetts lyned w^{t} velvet	ij^{o}.	
Steeld targetts w^{t} gonnes	ij^{o}.	
Tergett of Buffe ledder	oone.	
Tergett of ledder gilte	oone.	
Moryspickes garnyshed w^{t} velvet and percell gilte headdes	vi^{c}Lij.	

[a] ? If this is No. $\frac{14}{6}$ of the Tower collection.

[b] See p. 237.

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Fol. 256*a.* Memor[m] received out of the chardge of Sir Anthony Denny Knight.

fforest billes ij having blacke staves and iiij white staves[a]	vj.
Partysans party gilte w[t] the kings armes graven uppon them garnyshed w[t b] grene pasements and fringed w[t] grene and white silke[a]	ij[o].
Partysans partie gilte garnyshed w[t] blewe velvet and fringed w[t] blewe silke[a]	iij[c].
Partysans partie gilte garnyshed w[t] grene velvet and fringed w[t] grene and white silke[a]	xxxvij.
Partysans pty gilte garnyshed w[t] cremesyn velvet and fringed w[t] redde silke	xxxviij.
Polaxes gilte w[t] staves covered w[t] crymesen velvet and fringed w[t] diaper fring and a narrowe fring of venys gold and crymesen silke[a]	xxi.
A polaxe the hedde party gilte the hamer hedde having iij pickes w[t]in the same a rose gilte the staffe garnyshed w[t] cremesyn velved and fringed w[t] redde silke[a]	oone.
Morrispicks garnyshed w[t] grene velvet and white silke[a]	v[e].
Targetts over gilte paynted w[t] sondry workes and edged w[t] blake velvet	ij.
Targetts rounde covered w[t] tawny ledder[a]	ij[o].
Rounde targetts covered w[t] blake ledder[a]	v[e].
Rounde targetts painted blacke gilt rounde aboute by the edge and in the myddest a rounde circle w[t] sondry antiques paynted gilte w[t]in them[a]	xxiij[e].
Rounde targetts alle over gilte and paynted w[t] sondry antiques and sondry collours	xxxiij[e].
Crosbowes of sondry making w[t] iiij paire of wyndassis being broken	vii[en].
Racke to bende a crosbowe[a]	oone.
Crossbowe to shoote stone[a]	oone.
Quiver for pricke arrowes for crosbowes[a]	oone.

Fol. 429*a.* WESTMINSTER.—Armories in the Chardge of S[r] Thomas Darcye Knight M[r] of the same.

In the chardge of S[r] Thomas Darcye Knight and in the custodye of Hans Hunter Armerer.

First armynge swordes w[t] vellet skaberdes[c]	xj.
Itm iij edged tockes[d] w[t] vellet skaberdes	ij.
Itm grete slaghe[e] swordes w[t] lether skaberdes	ij.
Itm bore spere swordes w[t] lether skaberdes[f]	vj.
Itm armynge swordes of flaunders makynge	cccij.

[a] In the 1542 Greenwich inventory (Record Office). The numbers vary in some cases, but the weapons are the same.

[b] See p. 236. [c] See p. 243. [d] Tucks, thrusting swords.

[e] Large two-handed swords. [f] See p. 244.

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Itm Turquy bowes of stele	iiij^{xx} xviij.	*Fol.* 429*b*.
Itm banner staves painted and pte of them plated	xxvij.	
Itm Colin Cleves[a] painted and guilte thone havinge a rounde plate at thande[b] of silver and guilte graven w^{t} sheff arrowes foure of them lackinge heddes	viij.	
Colin cleves whyte	ij.	
Itm crenetts of lether with cheynes of iron	v.	
Itm one slaghe sworde with iij gonnes at thandle and crosse w^{t} a skaberde of vellet	j.	
Itm in faier Battell axes partely guilte with tassils of silke thone havinge a tassell and Lace of Venyce golde	v.	
Itm in Mases guilte and faier wrought five of them havinge Ringes and x laces of Sylke and Golde	xj.	
Itm a Mase of Damaskine worke.		
Itm one white Mase.		
Itm in horsemens hammers with Gonnes[c]	viij.	
Itm in horsemens hammers with battell axes	xiij.	
Itm in Morion heddes covered w^{t} vellet & passemyn of golde	x.	
Itm Targetts of Stele fringed w^{t} Redde silke and golde and lyned w^{t} vellet	vj.	
Itm Targetts of woodde painted w^{t} divers histories and trymmed w^{t} vellet and v girdells to them of Crymsen satten	viij.	*Fol.* 430*a*.
Itm Stele Targetts wrought and graven ix of them lyned and trymmed w^{t} vellet v of them lyned w^{t} clothe and trymmed w^{t} vellet and v more lyned and trymmed w^{t} Clothe all fringed	xix.	
Itm in Dagges[d] with gonnes in cases of lether	xviij.	
Itm in litle shorte gonnes	ij.	
Itm in dagges w^{t} gonnes in cases of vellet	ix.	
Itm in trees for saddelles plated w^{t} stele and p̃cell guilte and graven	v paier.	
Itm in like Trees plated with Stele and guilte and graven	j paier.	
Itm in like Trees plated with Stele guilte wrought and laced upon vellet	j paier.	
Itm in like Trees plated with Stele vernysshed and guilte	j paier.	
Itm in Stirropes thone guylte and thother percell guilte Counterphet Damaskine worke	ij paier.	
Itm one Bitte of Counterphet Damaskene worke w^{t} bosses	j.	
Itm one paire of spurres of counterphet Damaskine worke	j paier.	
Itm two harnesses for a horsse beinge hedstalls Reynes croopers and paytrelles of vellett thone garnysshed w^{t} Copper and passemayne of venyce golde thother w^{t} Copper silvered & w^{t} passemayne of silver	Twoo.	

[a] Lances for light horsemen. See p. 241. [b] See p. 241.
[c] See p. 242. [d] Small fire-arms between the gun and pistol in size.

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Fol. 430*b.*	Itm in reynes for horses of iron	xxvij.
	Itm one sculle of stele covered w^{t} blacke vellet embrodered w^{t} venice golde	j.
	Itm one sculle of stele covered w^{t} blacke satten.	j.
	Item one doble racke for a crosse bowe	j.
	Itm in hedging bills like Moll spades staves of Asshe	iiij.
	Itm one hand hedging bill	j.
	Item one hoke hedging bill rounde	j.
	Itm twoo forest billes parcell guilte and trymmed w^{t} golde	ij.
	Itm one javelin the hedd guilte w^{t} a brasse staffe	j.
	Itm in Italion peces fotemen[a]	vj.
	Itm one longe pece garnysshed with bone	j.
	Itm a guilte pece garnisshed w^{t} vellet	j.
	Item one white pece in a case of vellet	j.
	Itm three flaskes to the said gonnes	iij.
	Itm Briggendines covered w^{t} blacke fustian and white lynnen Clothe called Millen cootes	ccx.
	Itm Briggendines covered w^{t} lynnen clothe havynge longe Taces	ij.
	Itm one Northerne Jacke covered with lynnen	j.
	Itm iiij Battell Axes partely guilte w^{t} longe small staves of brassell garnisshed with Vellett white and grene and Silke	iiij.
	Itm x Javelins with brode heddes partely guilte with longe brassell staves garnisshed with vellet and Tassels of Silke	x.
Fol. 431*a.*	Itm three javelyns with brode heddes parcell guilte with longe staves of Asshe garnysshed w^{t} Silke and Golde	iij.
	Itm three billes ptely guilte with longe staves of brassell garnisshed with wnite and grene vellet and Silke	iij.
	Itm iij geldinges harnesse beinge hedstalls Paytrells and Croopers studded w^{t} mettall guilte and silvered	iij.
	Itm v paier of Spurres three of them guilte and twoo paier silvered w^{t} Lethers of vellet.	
	Itm vj olde flaskes and vj hornes for gonne powder.	
	In the charde and custodie of Alen Bawdesonne.	
	First ccciiij^{xx} Italion peces guilte without Chambers furnisshed with flaskes and Touche boxes lackinge xvi flaskes.	
	Itm cxvj Italion peces guilte with Chambers furnisshed.	
	Itm twoo Italion Peces p̃cell guilte and varnysshed covered with vellet w^{t} flaskes touche boxes and purses.	
	Itm twoo lardge Chamber peces set in Stockes of Walnuttree with fier locks.[b]	

[a] Guns for infantry soldiers made in Italy. See p. 229.

[b] Wheel locks.

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Itm one Chamber pece in a Stocke of woode lyned in the Cheke with vellet[a] *Fol.* 431*b*.
Itm one longe chamber pece with a fier locke sett in walnuttree.
Itm twoo longe peces guilte thone covered with grene vellet thother vernysshed Redde.
Itm xx olde peces of sundrye sortes diverse of them wrethen.
Itm v olde harquebussiers withe Chambers.
Itm iij harquebusiers.
Itm j harquebusier for haile shotte.
Itm twoo Doble hakes.[b]
Itm v harquebusiers blacke vernysshed and parcell guilte.
Itm A Shorte Chamber pece parcell guilte with a Stocke of woode garnysshed with bone in A case of vellet.
Itm ffoure Litle hackebutts three of them partely guilte.
Itm a Lytle hackebutte in a stocke of woodde garnysshed with stone.

WESTM^r.—In the chardge of Hans Hunter armerer. *Fol.* 432*a*.
First. A complete harnesse with a longe bast allow^r engraven and pcell guilte with Rooses and Pomegranetts which was King Henry vii^th his harnesse.
Itm A shaffron[c] to the said harnesse.
Itm An Anyme[d] for the felde without a rest and a Plackerde[e] havynge Cusshes greves and A Murion all of Stele enneled blewe w^th a paier of Sabbators[f] of Maile.
Itm xxviij blacke Animas for the felde with Tases lackinge vij paier of gaunteletts (iiij delivered to my Lorde Ptectors grace).
Itm v white Animas withoute Gaunteletts.
Itm xvj blacke Murrions.
Itm ix white Murrions.
Itm x blacke Briggendines.
Itm a fine Cote of maile edged with crymsen vellet with a paier of sleves a gorget havinge bockells and pendu^nt of Silver guilte and A paier of gloves of like Maile.
Itm ij hole Barbes[g] of Stele for horses graven and eneled blewe.
Itm twoo hole blacke Barbes as they come owte of the fier of Stele. *Fol.* 432*b*
Itm twoo paier of Trees for Sadells of Stele cutte owte.
Itm a faier grete Targette of Stele graven and guilte fringed w^t golde and lyned w^t crymseyn vellet.

[a] See p. 229.
[b] The double hake threw a 2 oz. ball.
[c] Chanfron.
[d] See p. 251.
[e] Extra plate over the breast.
[f] Coverings for the feet.
[g] Barb or bard, defence for the horse's body.

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Itm twoo targetts of Stele with Crosses guilte lyned with crymsin vellet.
Itm x Targetts of Stele graven and eneled lyned with vellet.
Itm v like Targetts Lined with Clothe and vellet.
Itm xvi like Targetts lyned with Clothe.
Itm ccc blacke stele Targetts made of olde harnesse by the said Hanse.
Itm ij handgonnes w^{t} fier locks thone w^{t} a chamber and ꝑcell guilte.
Itm iij paier of Sleves of corse Maile.
Itm cxxx Colyn Cleves with stele heddes.
Itm m^{l} iiij^{xx} ix white Murrions (clx delivered to ye Lorde Ptectors grace).

Fol. 433*a*. Itm one sworde the hilte and pommell guilte the hande bounde about with wier with A skaberde of blacke vellet embrodered with venyce golde.
Itm one Sworde the Pomell and hilte silvered the hande bound about with white wier with A Skaberde of white vellet.
Itm three Swordes the hiltes and Pomells bothe vernysshed and guilte the skaberdes of blacke vellet and Thandes bounde with white wier.
Itm twoo swordes the hiltes and Pomells guilte and engraven with waters[a] the Skaberdes of blacke vellet.
Itm one sworde with a like hilte and Pomell Thande bound with white wier the Skaberde of blacke vellet and the Chape guilte.
Itm vi Swordes the Hiltes Pomells and bindinges of Thandes white w^{t} Skaberdes of white vellet.
Itm twoo swoordes the hiltes and Pomells guilte bound in Thandes with wier guilte w^{t} Skaberdes of blacke vellet one of them embrodered with golde.
Itm one Sworde the hilte Pomell and Chape guilte Thande bound abowt with white threde and the Skaberde of blacke vellet.
Itm one skayne thafte and hilte silvered w^{t} a skaberde of white vellet w^{h} Locker[b] and Chape sylvered.
Itm one Skayne the Hilte Pomell hafte locker and Chape guilte graven w^{t} waters the Skaberde of blacke vellet w^{t} a Bodkyn and a knyff to it.

Fol. 433*b*. Itm twoo skaynes the Hiltes Pomells haftes Lockers and Chapes graven white w^{t} waters the skaberdes of white vellet w^{t} knives and one bodkyn to them.
Itm a shorte hanger the hafte of bone w^{t} a skaberde of white vellet the Locker chape and twoo other garnysshinges all of silver.
Itm twoo woodknyves of sondrie makinges the haftes guilte thone of them havinge a skaberde of grene vellet and thother a skaberde of blacke vellet w^{t} Lockers and Chapes of Copper and guilte thone of them having a gerdell covered w^{t} grene vellet and buckells studdes and pendn^{u}ntϱ of Copper and guilte.[c]

[a] Bitten with acid.
[b] Metal mounting to scabbard and attachment for suspension.
[c] See p. 244.

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Itm twoo Longe Bowes of Ewghe to shote Stones in withe cases of Lether to them.
Itm a paier of Quisshes of Iron.
Itm a Quiver for Shaftes covered w[t] blacke lether.[a]

GRENEWICHE.—In the chardge off Erasimus Kirkener armerer.

First one Complete harnesse of Italion makinge w[th] Lambes[b] blacke and pcell guilte for the felde lackinge greves and Sabbetters.[c]
Itm one blacke harnesse complete for the felde made w[th] Lambes scallope fasshion havinge doble[d] hedde peces doble greves and doble Placarde.
Itm one Briggendine complete havinge sleves covered w[th] Crymson clothe of golde and A Murrion with a Baver[e] to the same. *Fol.* 434*a*.
Itm one briggendine covered w[th] blewe Satten.
Itm iij Murrion heddes covered with vellet & passemayne of Golde.
Itm ij Targetts of Stele lyned and trymmed with vellet thone guilte and graven thother white.
Itm twoo Armynge Swordes with Skaberdes and girdells of vellet.
Itm one Chamber pece[f] blacke the Stocke of Redde woode set w[t] bone worke with a fier Locke[g] in A case of crymsen vellet.
Itm one longe white pece with A fier Locke.
Itm one Longe pece graven and guilte with A Stocke of redde woodde sett w[t] white bone with A fier Locke in A case of Lether.
Itm twoo Chamber peces guilte and graven with a fier Locke in A Stocke of yellowe.
Itm one guilte chamber pece graven w[t] a fier Locke w[t] a white stocke in a case of yellowe velvet.
Itm one shorte Chamber pece pcell guilte with a Redde stocke w[t] a fier Locke in A case of purple vellet.
Itm one lytle shorte pece for a horseman of Damaskin worke the Stocke of woode and bone set w[t] chamber.
Itm one like pece graven and guilte w[th] chamber.
Itm one Dagge[h] with two peces in one stocke. *Fol.* 434*b*.
Itm one horne for Gonnepowder garnished with silver and guilte.
Itm iij grete flaskes covered with vellet and three lytle Touche boxes.[i]

[a] All the items on ff. 433 and 433[d] as far as the quiver, are mentioned in the Greenwich Inventory of 1542 (Record Office).

[b] Lambes, query bases.
[c] Sabatons, armour for the feet.
[d] Reinforcing pieces.
[e] Beaver, a piece protecting the lower part of the face.
[f] Breechloading gun.
[g] Wheel-lock as opposed to match-lock.
[h] A small gun. See p. 231.
[i] For the priming powder.

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Itm vij litle purses for Chambers of vellet.[a]
Itm twoo Coffers covered with blacke fustian of Naples.
Itm a flaunders Cofer.
Itm twoo longe small cofers for gonnes.
Itm two backe swordes[b] in A case of lether and twoo litle Daggers garnisshed with Silver percell guilte and enaeled w[t] knyves and bodkyn.[c]
Itm C Italion peces and everie one his moulde[d] flaske Touche Boxe and Matche.
Itm A halbert trymmed w[t] grene vellet and guilte.
Itm twoo white billes.
Itm a Pollaxe graven and trymmed with grene vellet.
Itm twoo white Halberts thone w[t] crymsen vellet.
Itm A holy water sprincle.
Itm vj spere heddes iij percell guilte.
Itm one Javelyn hedde ꝑcell guilte.
Itm a forke hedde graven and guilte.
Fol. 435a. Itm twoo Javelines ꝑcell guilte with Redde staves.
Itm one litle bill ꝑcell guilte w[h] A Redde Stocke.
Item A ꝑteson[e] with A white Stocke ꝑcell guilte.
Itm A holy water sprincle with iij gonnes in thende.[f]
Itm C Italion peces[g] furnished delivered to my Lorde Protectors grace at his goinge to Scotlande.
Itm stele plates for x Di Launce Saddells.
Itm A small pece of Orden[a]nce of brasse with the cariage the whiche pece of Ordeñnce was brought to the Kings Maiestie for a Patron.[h]
Itm twoo longe Targetts.
Itm A patron for A gynne[i] to waie Orden[a]nce w[t]all.
Itm iiij bore speres heddes white.
Itm a Stele colo[r] for A pryson[r].[k]
Itm certen odde peces the whiche was sent unto the Kinges Maiestie from Bulloigne at divers tymes the whiche the ffrenchemen were slayne in.

[a] The chambers were evidently carried separately from their guns.
[b] Swords with only one cutting edge.
[c] Small knife or dagger.
[d] Bullet mould, there being in those days no fixed calibres.
[e] Partesan.
[f] The so-called "Henry VIII. walking staff" No. $\frac{14}{1}$ of the Tower collection.
[g] Guns imported from Brescia, Venice, &c.
[h] Pattern.
[i] A gyn or tripod, still used for raising heavy weights.
[k] No. $\frac{18}{18}$ of the Tower collection. See p. 248.

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Itm vj brest plates blacke three of them lackinge Taces with ij backes.[a]
Itm iij odde Vambrases with Pollrondes[b] and one paier of Pollrandes.[b]
Itm twoo hedde peces and A Murrion.
Itm one heddepece the whiche was the Capytaynes of Arde.[c] *Fol.* 435*b*.
Itm one Coller.
Itm iij Northern Jackes made of Canvas and plate.
Itm twoo barrells of gonne powder.
Itm A chamber pece blacke vernysshed with A fier locke and a blacke stocke a purse of blacke lether[d] with flaske and Touche boxe of blacke vellet.
Itm one Chamber graven and guilte with A fier locke and A blacke stocke covered with blacke Lether A purse of blacke vellet A white horne garnisshed with Copper and guilte and A Touche boxe of copper and guilte.
Itm A white Tacke[e] with a fier locke graven and all the stocke white bone A great flaske vernished and painted a Touche boxe of Iron graven and guilted.
Itm A Tacke with a fier locke vernisshed locke and all with A Redde stocke set with white bone A purse a flaske and A Touche boxe of blacke Vellet garnysshed with Iron and guilte.
Itm A guilte Tacke with A guilte fier locke the stocke covered with grene vellet and a purse of grene vellet.
Itm A white Tacke with A fier locke and A guilte flower with A Chamber A blacke purse of vellet and blacke horne Iron and guilte.
Itm A Tacke with A fier locke pcell graven and guilte A shethe of blacke vellet garnisshed with Iron and guilte A purse A flaske and A Toucheboxe of blacke vellet garnisshed with Iron and guilte. *Fol.* 436*a*.
Itm ij Tackes after the fashion of A daggar with fier lockes vernysshed with redde stockes shethes covered with blacke vellet garnysshed with silver and guilte with purses flaskes and touche boxes of blacke vellet and garnysshed with iron and guilte.
Itm ij Tackes hafted like A Knyff with fire lockes and doble lockes.[f] A pece thone graven percell guilte and thother vernysshed with ij purses ij flaskes and ij Touche boxes of blacke vellet thone garnisshed with Iron and guilte.
Itm a Hande hammer with A fier locke pcell guilte wth A flaske and A Touche boxe of crymsen vellet garnisshed with golde lace.
Itm A white hand Hammer with a blacke hafte and a fier locke.
Itm twoo white hand Mases wrought Antique after the Silver fasshion.

[a] It would appear that the breast-plate included backs and taces.
[b] See p. 259.
[c] Ardres.
[d] To carry the bullets.
[e] A pistol. See p. 231.
[f] Query, if with two holders for the pyrites.

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Itm A Mase graven and ꝑcell guilte.
Itm A Mase blacke vernysshed and ꝑcell guilte.
Itm A Mase all guilte and graven with a Case of crymsen Vellet.
Fol. 436*b*. Itm vj Reynes of Cheynes yellowe and blacke.
Itm A Reyne of Cheynes white and yellowe.
Itm vj Morespike heddes ꝑcell guilte.
Itm one Javelin hedde ꝑcell silvered and guilte.
Itm A longe Javelin hedde ꝑcell graven and guilte.
Itm ij bore spere heddes ꝑcell graven and guilte.
Itm ij paier of Stirropes graven and guilte.
Itm twoo paier of Spurres graves and guilte thone with Crimsen vellet and thother w^{t} purple vellet.
Itm A Bylle graven and guilte.
Itm ij white Bills.
Itm A paier of girthes of grene Silke and bockles of Copper and guilte.
Itm ij ꝑtissauñts [a] ꝑcell guilte with square points.
Itm A briggendine covered with Crimsen Satten and sett wth guilte Nailles.
Itm A paier of sleves according to the Cote wth A pece of Kersey to kepe it in [b]
Itm A paier of gloves of Maile.
Fol. 437*a*. Itm vij Vampletts ꝑcell guilte and graven.
Itm twoo fier Locks thone graven thother ꝑcell guilte and graven.
Itm twoo short Mases ꝑcell silvered and guilte.
Itm a paier of gauntletts of Copper and guilte.
Itm A Complete harnesse ꝑcell graven with all doble peces longing to the Tylte and the felde. A playne stele Saddell covered with purple vellet and embrodered with Cloth of Gold. A Crenet, a shaffron scaled and graven with a playne stele Barbe.
Itm A Complete harnesse for the felde all doble peces longinge therto all graven and ꝑcell guilte sittinge in a Stele Saddell covered w^{t} Crymsen vellet embrodered wth cloth of Golde. A Crenet with Skales percell graven and guilte. A Shaffron all graven and ꝑcell guilte with a stele Barbe ꝑcell graven and guilte.
Itm A Complete Harnesse ꝑcell graven and guilte wth all manner of peces of adu^{n}ntage for the felde Tilte Turney and fote sitting in a Stele Saddell ꝑcell graven and guilte covered w^{t} Crymsen vellet embrodered with Clothe of Golde. A Playne crenet wth A Shaffron ꝑcell graven and guilte. A fore ꝑte of a Barbe
Itm an Anime [c] Curett w^{t} a Murrion and A Bever.

[a] Partesans.

[b] In the outfit of the earl of Northumberland going to Terrouenne 5th of Henry VIII. is "viii. yerds of white blanket for trussing of my lord's armour in."

[c] Anime, from lamine, an armour composed of strips of metal. See p. 251.

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Itm twoo Shaffrons.
Itm twoo Crenetts pcell graven and guilte.
Itm twoo playne Crenetts.
Itm twoo Shaffrons pcell guilte. *Fol.* 437*b*.
Itm iij Shaffrons playne pcell guilte.
Itm vj half Shaffrons playne pcell guilte.
Itm a paier of Cushes with half greves.[a]
Itm twoo half breches w[t] Cod peces of stele.
Itm twoo newe Crenetts.
Itm twoo playne Shaffrons.
Itm ij Mornis[b] covered with crimsen Satten one embrodered w[t] purled golde and the other embrodered w[th] broided golde.
A Murrion covered with blacke vellet embrodered w[th] purled golde and sett w[th] severall perle.
Itm twoo Murrions covered with blewe vellet and garnisshed w[th] passemyne Lace.
Itm one Murrion covered with blacke vellet and garnisshed w[th] passemyne lace.
Itm one murrion covered with yelow vellet and garnisshed w[th] passemyne lace.
Itm one Murrion covered w[th] Crimsen vellet garnisshed with Passemyne Lace.
Itm Stele plates for a Saddell pcell graven and guilte.[c]
Itm A Tree of a Saddell covered w[t] Stele plate cutte owte with braunches graven and guilte. *Fol.* 438*a*.
Itm A paier of Showes of Maile.
Itm A paier of gussets[d] of Maile.
Itm twoo Calfs of Maile.
Itm vi Italion peces pcell guilte with three Mouldes purses flaskes and touche boxes of blacke vellet.
Itm one longe crested[e] pece with A square mouth and a Moulde purse flaske and touche boxe of blacke vellet.
Itm one pece with a fier locke pcell guilte w[th] a white stocke and A Moulde A purse A flaske and A Touche boxe of white vellet garnysshed w[th] Iron and guilte.
Itm A Chamber pece with A fier locke graven and pcell guilte with A white stocke A purse of blacke vellet And A blacke horne garnisshed with Silver and guilte and a Litle Touche boxe of Iron graven and guilte.

[a] Fig. $\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{5}$ at the Tower has (wrongly) a pair of half greaves, which leave the inside of the calf uncovered. They were for a mounted man.

[b] Morions, head-pieces.

[c] The plates were on the front of the saddle, and protected the lower part of the body of the rider.

[d] These were for the inside of the bend of the arm, armpit, &c. and attached to a garment worn under the armour.

[e] Fluted.

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Itm one pece all graven and guilte wth A fier locke vernished A blacke stocke wth A Moulde A purse A flaske and A Touche boxe of blacke vellet.

Itm A Chamber pece with A fier locke vernisshed with A redde stocke pesed behind A purse of blacke vellet A blacke horne garnisshed wth Copper and guilte.

Fol. 438*b*. GRENEWICH.—In the Custodye of S^{r} Thomas Pastone knight one of The Gent of the Kings Prevye Chamber Remayninge in the Tilte Yarde at Grenewiche.

First vi Curetts with graunde gardes and five Basenetts longing thereunto lackinge one paier of Taces.

Itm xiiij harnesses receyved from West^{r} that is to say

Twoo blacke harnesses complete for the felde made with Lambes pcell guilte with twoo placardes one lackinge A paier of Cusshes and two paier of greves.

Itm x Turnninge[a] gauntletts wth other odde peces to the nomber of vij litle peces.

Itm twoo white harnesses pcell graven complete for the felde lackinge twoo placardes.

Itm iiij white harnesses complete for the felde lackinge iiij paier of legge harnesses and iij paier of cushes.

Itm vj blacke harnesses complete for the felde lackinge v paier of Cushes and vj paier of greves.

Itm one harnesse for the kings Maiestie all graven and pcell guilte both for the felde and Tilte complete w^{h} was com̄annded to be translated[b] at the Kings goinge over to Bulloigne whiche lieth in peces parte translated and parte untranslated by A contrarie com̄aundement by the Kings Maiestie.[c]

Itm one stele Sadle of redd Lether with a Seate of Crimsen Vellet embrodered with grene Silke.

Fol. 439*a*. In the first House.

Itm upon the first horse one playne hostinge[d] harnesse Lacking his gauntletts and a base cote of blacke vellet embrodered with Cloth of golde and a stele Saddell covered w^{t} blacke Clothe.

Itm upon the second horse an hostinge harnesse complete lackinge his Cushes w^{ch} Cushes were delivered to S^{r} Henry Knyvet at his goinge over the See w^{t} A base coat of blacke vellet embrodered w^{t} Cloth of golde and a Stele Saddell covered w^{t} blacke vellet to sarve Capytaine Julyan at the fightinge of the Campe in Fraunce.

[a] For the tourney.

[b] To alter the fashion.

[c] See p. 255.

[d] For war.

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Itm Upon the Third horse a Harnesse given unto the kings Maiestie by Themperor Maximilian w^th^ a base of stele and goldesmythe worke Silver and guilte with A border abowt the same silver and guilte of Goldesmythes worke and A barde of stele w^th^ a Burgonion Crosse and the fusye and a Saddell with A crynmyn and A shaffron to the same.[a]

Item upon the fourth horse a Sadle of stele covered w^h^ Clothe of golde and purple vellet and xix odde peces of prevye harnesse.

In the seconde House.

Itm upon the first horse one stele Saddell pcell guilte and silvered covẽd with clothe of golde and Silver and a base of blacke vellet embrodered with Cloth of golde.

Itm upon the Seconde horse a Stele Saddell covered w^t^ blacke clothe a Barbe of Stele and Crynnyan[b] and A Shaffron all guilte and silvered and a base cote of blacke vellet embrodered w^t^ Clothe of Golde. *Fol.* 439*b*.

Itm upon the Thirde horse A playne Tilte harnesse lackinge a paier of gauntletts a base cote of blacke vellet embrodered w^t^ Cloth of golde, a hedde pece w^t^ a Rammes horne silver pcell guilte and a Stele Saddell covered w^t^ blacke vellet.[c]

In the Thirde House.

Itm A Horse of woodde with a bridle of Clothe of tissue and Russet vellet and twoo collers of belles silver and guilte conteyninge xvi great belles.

Itm ij Saddells of crymsen vellet embrodered with spangles of goldesmythes worke silver and guilte.

Itm one Saddell of blewe vellet embrodered with spangs of goldesmythes Worke all white one saddell of purple vellet embrodered with goldsmithes worke silver and guilte, one saddell of blacke vellet fringed w^t^ venyce golde and one hevie Armynge sworde for the Kinge.

In the lesser of the twoo litle houses.

Itm twoo Tunletts[d] w^t^ two Basenetts.

Itm ij Curetts w^t^ twoo Basenetts.

Itm a Curett for the tilte that hathe no Basenett.

Item three Manufiers.[e]

Itm three paier of Vambrases w^t^ vj Polder mittons.[f] *Fol.* 440*a*.

Itm ij paire of Poldrence and one odde Poldrense.

Itm ij paier of legge Harnes.

[a] Now ⅛ of the Tower collection. See p. 257.

[b] Crinet, defence for horse's neck.

[c] See p. 257.

[d] Tonnelet. See p. 258.

[e] Main de fer; gauntlet for bridle-hand.

[f] See p. 259.

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Itm iiij graunde gardes.
Itm ij pase gardes and one coller.

In the bigger of the litle Houses.

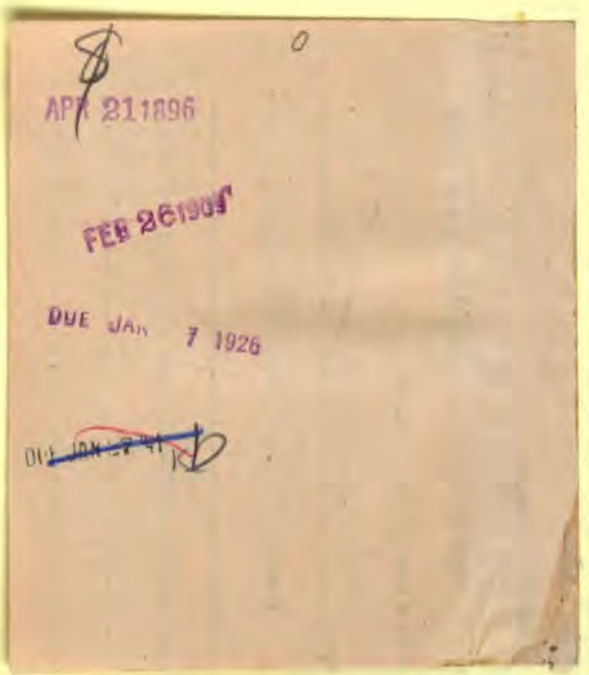
Itm one Tunlett pcell guilte w^t^ a Basenett complete Lackinge one gauntlett.
Itm one hostinge harnesse lackinge a gauntlett.
Itm vj Curetts to fight w^t^ one fote[a] with Basenetts and breches.
Itm iiij paier of Legge harnesse.
Itm vj paier of Vambraces.
Itm a Poldren.
Itm twoo secrete Vambray for the hevie Turninge sworde and one hatte of Stele with Collor of iron.
Itm ij Doble Poldrens and one single.
Itm one Hatte of Stele and twoo staves called holy water sprincles.

[a] On foot.

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